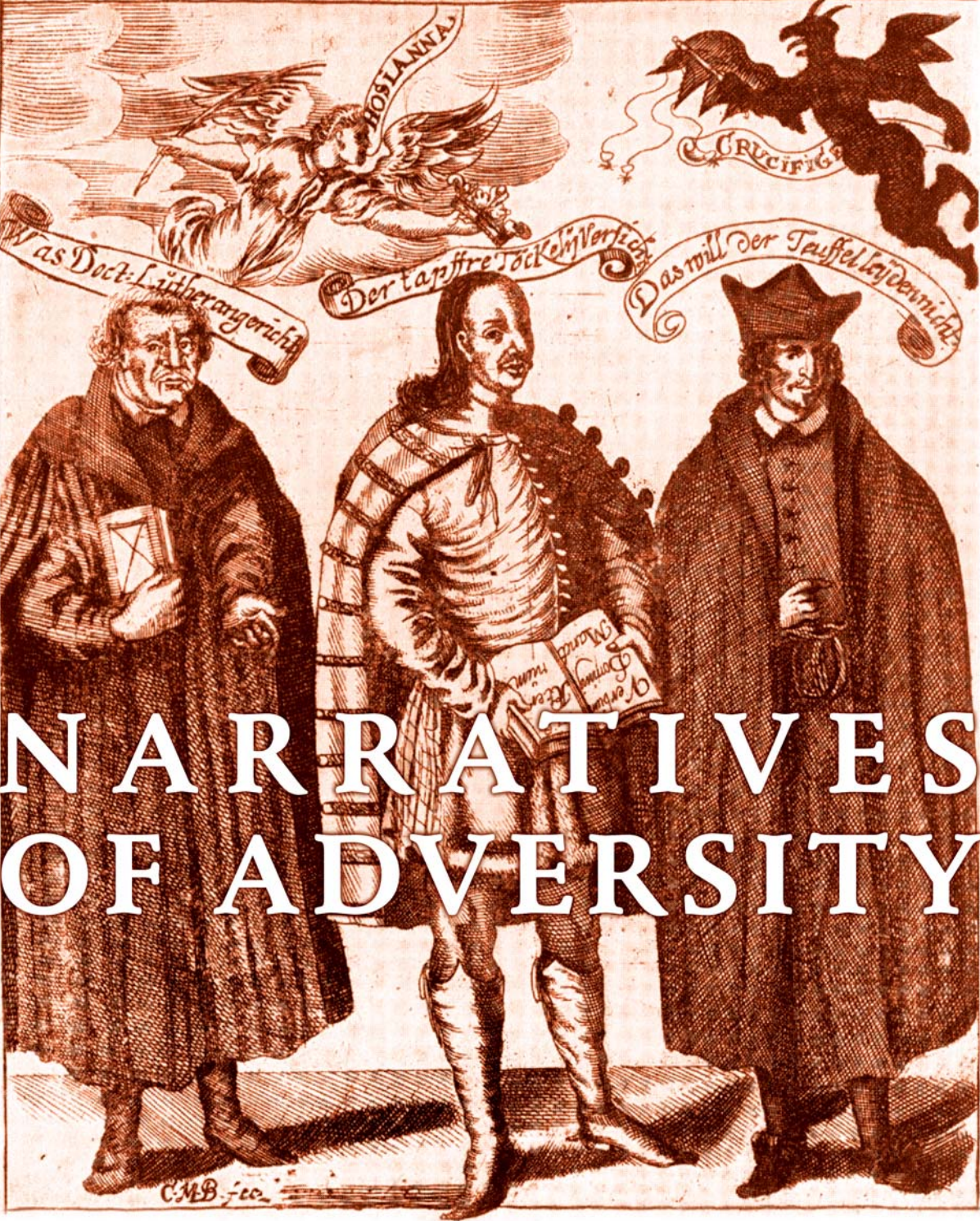




**Jesuits on the Eastern Peripheries
of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)**

By Paul Shore

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NARRATIVES OF ADVERSITY

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*Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries
of the Habsburg Realms*
(1640–1773)

Edited by
Paul Shore



Central European University Press
Budapest–New York

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Published in 2012 by

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

An imprint of the

Central European University Share Company

Nádor utca 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary

Tel: +36-1-327-3138 or 327-3000

Fax: +36-1-327-3183

Website: www.ceupress.com

E-mail: ceupress@ceu.hu

400 West 59th Street, New York NY 10019, USA

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ISBN 978-615-5053-47-4

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Shore, Paul J., 1956-

Narratives of adversity : Jesuits in the eastern peripheries of the Habsburg realms (1640-1773) / Paul Shore.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

ISBN 978-6155053474 (hardbound)

1. Jesuits—Austria—History—17th century. 2. Jesuits—Austria—History—18th century. 3. Jesuits—Europe, Eastern—History—17th century. 4. Jesuits—Europe, Eastern—History—18th century. I. Title.

BX3728.S56 2012

271'.53049—dc23

2011049973

Printed in Hungary by
Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

To M.

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Acknowledgements

This book has taken shape over a number of years, in several different settings, and without the support of many institutions and the contributions of a wide array of individuals it could not have been completed. The early development of this book was facilitated by a Fulbright Austrian-Hungarian Joint Research Grant and the Collegium Budapest. I would like to thank the Faculty of History at Cambridge University for letting me be part of their community for much of the 2008–09 academic year, as well as Jesus College and Hughes Hall, Cambridge where I received hospitality as well as material and moral support. In particular I must acknowledge Sarah Squire for helping me to come to Cambridge in the first place, and William O'Reilly and Derek Beales for their ideas and professional guidance. The participants in seminars and lectures at Cambridge and elsewhere, some of whose names I never learned, also challenged and redirected my thinking as the project progressed. The Jesuit Institute at Boston College, which for a year was where the actual business of writing took place, was a perfect environment for reflecting on all things Jesuit, and Father T. Frank Kennedy, S. J., was a thoughtful and supportive host. Special thanks to the ever-helpful staff of the Burns Library at Boston College. Brandon University graciously gave me resources and time as a visiting professor to complete the project. Among the other institutions that helped make this book possible have been Central European University, Pasts, Incorporated, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library, the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the library of the Eötvös Loránd University, and the libraries of Harvard, Brown and Yale Universities. Central European University Press, in the person of Krisztina

Kós and her staff, has been a pleasure to work with, the sort of understanding editorial team that every writer hopes for.

Many individuals have endured reading the entire text or portions thereof, and have corrected errors, suggested more felicitous ways of expressing ideas, and reacted more generally to the goals and approaches of this study. Thanks to László Kontler, Martyn Rady, Robert Evans, Jennifer Lowe, Matthew Herrell, Éva Sandner, Géza Pálffy, Emanuele Colombo, Father John W. Padberg, S. J., Charles Jelavich, Lynn Whidden, Frank Schaer and the anonymous reviewer of my manuscript after it was submitted to CEU Press. Bálint Bethlenfalvy skillfully prepared the bibliography. Frank Schaer and Etleva Lala caught more than a few errors and debatable transcriptions in the Latin, for which I am very grateful. And my students at Central European University through their curiosity and fresh view of the topic have contributed more than they may ever realize.

Any errors of fact or interpretation are of course my own.

P. S.

Budapest, July 2011

PRELUDE

The Lure of Challenge

At the turn of the seventeenth century, in the rapidly evolving world of the frontiers among Habsburg, Ottoman and Transylvanian territories, Father Paul Ladislaus Baranyi was one of the most active and influential players. Born in 1657 to a noble family in Jászberény in Ottoman occupied Hungary, and educated at the great Jesuit training center in Graz, Baranyi undertook his fourth vow as a Jesuit in Cluj before the Society had been officially reinstated in the independent Grand Principality of Transylvania.¹ As an exponent of baroque piety, Baranyi believed in holy images that could appear in candle flames and aggressively promoted devotion to such images.² He was also an author of popular devotional texts, a school administrator, and the prime mover in the establishment of the Uniate Church in Transylvania.³ But among Jesuits his name also survived because of other exploits, which included long journeys conducted incognito and in laymen's garb through dangerous regions in the east. One day, returning from

¹ Baranyi also studied at Trenčín, at the Jesuit novitiate, which was then also far from the Ottoman frontier. Gyenis, *A trencséni jezsuita noviciátus anyakönyve*, 38; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 21.

² In Varona [?], Hungary an image of the Virgin holding the infant Jesus in her arms was attested to by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. In the same town a painting of the Virgin owned by Nicolaus Bercsényi, who had served as a general in Francis Rákóczi's army, and in whose courtyard the miraculous candle image had appeared, was said to weep. Letter of Paulus Baranyi to Gabriel Hevenesei, Pestini, 6 March 1709, Ms. III, Kap. A, Tomus VIII, fol. 352, ELTEK.

³ Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium*, i, 115; Stoeger, *Scriptores* 21, Márton, "A gyulafehérvári vallási unió (1697–1701)."

giving the viaticum to a remotely situated Catholic, Baranyi was passing through a forest “with only one servant,” when he was set upon by “heretic [probably Calvinist] noblemen.” In response to their own threatening swords, Baranyi *drew his own sword*, cut at his assailants, and they ran away.⁴ The brief but highly suggestive account of these events published in the early twentieth century gives no source, and other contemporaneous accounts of Baranyi’s life make no mention of the incident, so the story may have survived in a less formal or oral tradition of the Austrian Province.

On its most literal level, the story of Baranyi’s successful escape from immediate physical *periculum* contains many surprising details. We may ask, was it customary for this intrepid priest to travel with more than one servant? And did he usually carry a sword? (There are a few reports of Jesuits traveling armed in Ottoman Serbia, but the *Constitutions* of the Society made no provisions for such things.) How did this Jesuit, who on another occasion managed to “rescue the inhabitants of an entire district,” acquire the skills necessary to perform these feats? Were these skills in any way part of his Jesuit training?⁵ Do they shed light on Baranyi’s life before entering the Society? Beyond these more obvious questions, what does the preservation of this story say about the ways in which one could be a “good Jesuit” along the eastern edges of what was then regarded as Europe? By joining the Society of Jesus and accepting the possibility of facing danger and even death, how were the behaviors of what might be understood as passive martyrdom vis-à-vis a skilled and successful personal defense understood? And most importantly, what does the survival and valuing of this story tell us about the culture and values of the Society that gave Baranyi his identity, his mission, and his faith?

Within the overarching plotline of “adversity confronted and overcome” common to Jesuit narratives throughout the world we find

⁴ Velics, *Vázlatok a Magyar jezsuiták múltjából*, Vol. 3: 1690–1773, p. 9. In 1653 the “cives” of Roman, Moldavia wrote that Jesuits traveled about in carts and on horseback, clad in fox furs, armed and accompanied by *famuli*. The Jesuits were also accused of writing, “falsas fingendo literas,” to Constantinople, Germany and Poland. Călinescu, “Altre Notizie,” 439.

⁵ Noble youths attending Jesuit schools in the mid-seventeenth century were taught, along with the classics, how to ride a horse and handle a sword. Péter, K, *Beloved Children*, 176.

Jesuits like Baranyi working along the peripheries of Habsburg territory experiencing very varied consequences of their efforts. But defeat, in the sense that our contemporary secularized society generally understands the term, was never one of these outcomes. This was not merely because the triumphalist narrative promoted by the historians and chroniclers of the baroque Society did not encourage admissions of defeat, but because of the fundamental way in which Jesuits understood their mission and its relation to events taking place around them. Keen observers of the world and aware of causal relationships, Habsburg Jesuits nonetheless lived in a world where the will of God was evident everywhere, from crosses visible in crystals and on the face of the sun to the inscrutable actions of strangers. Moreover, even among the most learned of these men, the legitimacy of alchemy was conceded as a possibility and dramatic supernatural intervention in day to day life was a constantly anticipated event.⁶ The Society's motto, *Omnia ad maiorem Gloriam Dei* was meant to be taken literally in every eventuality, so that even the physical death of Jesuit and destruction of whatever material creations he had brought into being were events that might be offered to, and reflected the greater glory of God. Thus the Habsburg Jesuits of the seventeenth, and to a lesser degree, the eighteenth century as well, understood the world as a place where adversity and triumph existed simultaneously, and where the inevitability of the latter never precluded the experience of the former. In this seeming contradiction and tension lies the heart of this book.

That said, the claim that one has identified tensions within the Society and within individual Jesuits must be put forth with qualification. When speaking of the collective perceptions of any human organization counting thousands of members, all of whom died several centuries ago, generalization of course is a tricky business. The narratives of Jesuit experience are rich sources of information about these perceptions, but must be utilized with an awareness of how these narratives came into being. The shaping of them included the introduction of material that might not pass the test of empirical truth, but was "pious fiction"

⁶ Martinus Szentiványi, arguably in his day the most learned Jesuit of the Austrian Province, believed alchemy might be true. Evans, *The Making*, 378–379. Other Jesuits collected "unicorn horns" and the fat of hanged men for their supposed medicinal benefits.

as opposed to “pious fraud.” The former was stereotyped in character, “whose use was governed by a clear set of conventions,” and which may include the recollection of actual experiences, while the latter is a self-conscious fabrication from whole cloth.⁷ Both interpolations are evident in the writings of baroque Jesuits, but the pious fictions of the Jesuits tell us the most about their own goals, motivations, and dilemmas, since they reflect the rules created by Jesuits themselves that were intended to advance the mission of the Society.

At any point faith and doubt might be mixed in the understandings of Jesuits telling and hearing of the experiences of their brethren. Varying experiences were reshaped in their retelling to illustrate larger truths, and these were indeed held to be the truths which justified the Society’s existence and provided members with a meaningful explanation of their individual lives. While the separation of subjective experience from the ideal experiences promoted by the Society cannot be accomplished merely by analyzing the documents Jesuits composed, it is still possible to gain some understanding of both types of experiences from records describing personal experiences of Jesuits, as validated and refined by others within the Society. Thus we read that Georgius Görgöny, a Jesuit brother who died in 1686, was remembered both for the bravery he demonstrated during the uprising led by Emericus Thököly, and for how he overcame the memory of his mistreatment and continued his life in the community years later. Seized by rebels in Trnava, he faced deadly danger, went into exile in Poland, was captured and beaten, but forgot his misfortunes, and even assisted a Calvinist in need.⁸ Görgöny apparently acquired the sword with which he had been threatened by his persecutors, and kept it as a memento.⁹ These facts, as entered into the Society’s official record, became one of the most important elements of the surviving narrative of the life of the *coadjutor temporalis*, an anecdote unique to him alone but also an *exemplum* of both explicitly Christian forbearance and of triumph in the world, and on the world’s terms.

In principle, each encounter with adversity was an opportunity for a Jesuit to experience victory of one kind or another. In reality, the

⁷ See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 291–292.

⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum* VI, Ms I, Ab 142, fol. 71, ELTEK.

⁹ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1686, Austria 146*, fol. 98r, ARSI.

challenges of a mission on the edge of Western Christendom were often exhausting.¹⁰ In Alba Iulia, in 1718, a Jesuit wearily noted that during the previous three years, the *residentia* had suffered through war, and attack by the Turks, and the plague.¹¹ The cost of adversity to individual Jesuits, while very seldom addressed directly in the Society's records, suffuses the reports sent to Provincials and to Rome and sometimes bursts forth in the more private correspondence of Jesuits. The challenge of explaining and integrating the experience of adversity had an impact on Jesuit perceptions of their allies and opponents, and of those souls they sought to care for. Jesuit experience took place in the nexus between practical problem solving and the absolute glory of Jesuit art and music, between the ideal and subjective, the ungendered and the unmistakably masculine, the meticulously recorded institutional memory and the lost event, between individual mortality and sublime eternity. It is an experience without exact parallel in the history of the Habsburg realms, and one that compels our attention since at its heart are the improbable men who left an indelible imprint on the southern and eastern frontiers of Catholic Europe.

¹⁰ Numerous other sources document the difficulties of life in this region. Floods, thievery, heavy snowfall, the ubiquity of widows and orphans and disease of livestock brought on by rotten fodder are for example among the hardships experienced in the Uzhhorod district. *Repraesentatio Humillima desolatae Status Comitatus Unghvariensis (1729)*, in Gabriel, *Pohyb Obyvatelstva*, 43–47.

¹¹ *Annuae Residentiae Soc'tis Jesu Carolina Anno Domini 1719*, Szentiványi.

INTRODUCTION

A Fragile Splendor

The Jesuit presence in Hungary can be traced back to the invitation in 1554 of Nicholas Olahus (1493–1568), archbishop of Esztergom, to the Jesuits to come to what is now Trnava, Slovakia to teach and help rebuilt Catholic institutions in the rump of the historic Kingdom of Hungary left after the upheavals of the Reformation and the Turkish invasion. These early arrivals set a pattern of two important relationships that would continue throughout the entire pre-Suppression history of the Society of Jesus in Hungary. First, the source of the impetus for the Jesuit program, while driving eastward, would be Vienna. Secondly, the goals of the Jesuits would remain the consolidation of a Catholic presence that had deep roots in the region, but which had been profoundly undermined by the events of the sixteenth century.¹ These characteristics set the Jesuit enterprise in Royal Hungary apart from the Society's work in Transylvania, Ukraine, or Russia, which had never been predominantly Catholic, and were much farther from the Imperial capital and the administrative center of the Austrian Province of the Society. Also significant is the time frame in which these two relationships came into existence: The Hungarian enterprise was conceived while the Founder of the Society, St. Ignatius of Loyola, was

This chapter is based on a seminar paper delivered at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, London, UK in November of 2007. This essay was prepared with support from Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Studies, Saint Louis University, the University of Glasgow, the University of Edinburgh Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, and the Hungarian Fulbright

¹ Tóth, "The Old and New Faith," 205–220.

still living and before the initial charism of the order had begun to be rationalized and routinized. While the spread of the Society's influence through east Central Europe would soon bear the marks of the organizational model that Jesuits employed throughout the world, the passion and ambition of Ignatius and his companions also colored the early experiences of Jesuits working in this region. The tensions between the emotions associated with these first years and the realities of modest gains over many decades, are among the most outstanding features of the Society's undertaking in the Habsburg East.

For the next seven decades after their arrival the Jesuits, restricted by their commitments in Vienna and elsewhere, and beset by misfortunes such as the burning of a major portion of the town of Trnava that also destroyed their compound, were unable to expand significantly into this territory. After the first third of the seventeenth century and the conclusions of the disruptions brought on by the *Bruderzwist*,² the Society of Jesus's program of expansion eastwards from its strongholds in Vienna, Prague and Trnava was directed through the mountainous spine of what is now Slovakia. This strategy created a network of communities that both supported the Society's efforts at conversion and Catholic education, and provided a dependable series of Catholic strongholds sympathetic to the Habsburgs and their allies in a region saturated with Protestant and anti-dynastic sentiments. These Jesuit communities also provided a source of support for future expansion of the Society's Austrian Province, a process which came with the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Hungary and Transylvania. Yet such a project was never easy, for at every turn were confessional and ethnic groups hostile to the Society's goals, and communications were arduous through this sparsely populated region.

This volume will examine several of the Jesuit communities situated along the periphery and the records that they left behind about their interactions with the local populations. It will also explore the connections between Jesuit activities along the southern perimeter of Habsburg influence, in modern-day Serbia, as well as the much more elaborated set of outposts along the northern edge of the Austrian Province. The most northeasterly of these outposts was in Uzhhorod,

² Brady, *Communities, Politics and Reformation*, 392–393.

in modern day Ukraine, the furthest easterly town of any size in Royal Hungary in the seventeenth century. While part of the Austrian Province, the history of this Jesuit community stands apart from the other residences and schools created in Royal Hungary during the seventeenth century because its history from the start was closely connected with the development of the Ruthenian Uniate Church and was linked to the support of noble Catholic patrons with ties to the ruling caste of Transylvania. Before relocating to Uzhhorod, in 1614 the Jesuits had set up a school in an abandoned Franciscan monastery in Humenné, to the west, but found more secure patronage and a greater opportunity to proselytize among the Orthodox population in Uzhhorod. The early history of this mission suggests how difficult it was to maintain a presence in this hostile environment, even with the support of the distant Habsburgs. At almost the same time outposts were established in Prešov, Sárospatak, Košice, and elsewhere, thereby creating a chain of Jesuit residences stretching eastward towards frontiers with Transylvania, Poland and the Ottoman Empire, foundations that promoted not merely a common set of values and ideas, but also more technical skills.³ All of these were settings where the Society was pursuing its goals from other directions, and regions that remained political unstable for many decades. These smaller Jesuit enterprises never became cultural or confessional centers on the scale of Trnava to the east or even of Cluj to the south, but they did contribute collectively to the Catholic presence in the eastern Habsburg lands and to the flowering of baroque visual art that occurred in the eighteenth century in this region.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the long term survival of the Habsburg dynasty seemed in doubt more than once. The considerable investment made by Jesuit communities in Royal Hungary to create an impressive physical presence thus was designed not merely to overawe the local population, but also reflected the lack of real power that the Society would have felt as it worked to gain the upper hand in these predominantly non-Catholic regions. The baroque expression of the Jesuits of Royal Hungary was therefore a fragile splendor, in part modeled after the larger western cities of the Habsburg lands,

³ McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500–1800*, 73.

and in part defined by the need to defend Catholicism from the hostility of Orthodox, Lutherans, Calvinists, and others. This splendor also performed the important task of reminding the Jesuits themselves of their mission and of the potential glory attendant upon it. The material splendor of the Society's presentation of God's glory also reflected the theology of Jesus as "King", a warrior who conquers, an image quite distinct from the Orthodox portrayal of Jesus as judge or creator.⁴ And as we shall see this fragile splendor was also reflected in the Latinity of Jesuit documents that recorded the progress of the Society.

Jesuits cultivated this theology, wrote their chronicles and built their institutions in an environment that has been labeled "homosociality," a culture centered on "emotionally sustaining father-son relationships," with Ignatius the Patriarch functioning as the *Urvater*.⁵ The exclusively male composition of the Society, while it has always been well known, must be viewed from a different angle when considering the failures as well as the successes Jesuit experienced along the Habsburg periphery. An exclusively masculine community afforded both opportunities for expressing the emotions that might arise from the experience of adversity, but it could also at times restrict the expression of these sentiments. The narratives cited in following chapters, although they are often populated with females, are essentially stories of men told by men, for consumption by men. Setbacks and defeat were therefore understood in terms of male experience, and recounted for a male readership that would presumably understand the internal experiences of the participants.

Recatholicization along this challenging periphery had distinctive characteristics, even if the Jesuits who participated in the process also served in other parts of the Austrian Province, or sometimes even in "the Indies." The timing and execution of the recatholicization of Royal Hungary and Transylvania differed from the earlier and largely successful efforts of the Society in the Hereditary Lands of the Habsburgs which lay to the west of the Leitha in three ways. First, in the east, the Society was not able to bring the full weight of its tactics into play until the latter part of the seventeenth century, by which time Calvinism and Lutheranism had already been rooted for a century and a half in

⁴ Bouvier, "Jésuites (Théologie ascétique ou spiritualité)."

⁵ Strasser, "'The First Form and Grace,'" 66.

the schools and communities of the region. These confessions had also become points of self-identification for nobles and burghers resisting Habsburg domination, a fact that remained true until the mid-eighteenth century at least. Secondly, the Jesuits undertaking the work of teaching and proselytizing faced continual want and hardship (difficulties that also confronted the general population) that could not easily be alleviated by distant Vienna. The effort expended addressing these problems could not be committed elsewhere, for example, to provide greater physical safety to Jesuits.⁶ And while the Society steadily built up a network of schools that came to dominate education in Hungary, it had to do so without the advantages of building on already existing institutions; nothing the equivalent of the medieval universities of Prague or Vienna, which were handed over to the Society in the seventeenth century, had ever existed in Royal or Ottoman occupied Hungary.⁷ Indeed the early Society, as attuned as it was to developing urban schools, in Hungary had no urban centers of any size. Adding to each of these disadvantages was the strained relationship between Jesuits and many elements of the local elites, who often failed to provide recruits to the Society. The poor fit between the Society's aims and the needs and desires of the aristocracy and gentry ranged from the curriculum offered (which Kelemen Mikes, the personal secretary to Francis II Rákóczi denounced as of little use to a man) to the brand of florid Counter-Reformation piety that attracted some to Catholicism but drove away others. Yet despite these handicaps, Jesuit outposts endured and even gained ground in the decades before the Suppression.

The Jesuit undertaking in Royal Hungary and along the southern frontiers of the Habsburg realms raises some of the same questions that arise from an examination of the Society's activities in the neighboring regions of Transylvania, Ottoman Hungary and Transcarpathia. The common denominators in each of these cases are the vast and almost ungovernable Austrian Province, the kaleidoscope of religious

⁶ For example, in 1707, masked men terrified travelling Jesuits, but there is no evidence the Society could do much to prevent the occurrences. *Diarium Residentiae Sŷ Patakiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 96, April 19, 1707, fol. 90r, ELTEK.

⁷ In 1767, the Society was operating 42 gymnasia, 3 universities (not all with complete faculties), 3 academies, 4 elementary schools, and 18 *convictus* and *seminaria* in Hungary and Transylvania. Egyed, *A katolikus egyház*, 316.

and ethnic groupings, the expanding power of the Habsburgs, and the relative scarcity of resources in comparison with other parts of Europe. There were also the perennial challenges of disease and death, and especially before 1700, of Jesuits or Jesuits in training being dismissed from the Society. These elements set the Jesuits' encounters in the Habsburg east apart from their confreres' elsewhere in Europe, where the Society's methods of instruction were the same, but the political arrangements were far different. The promotion of Catholicism in both its Roman and Eastern Rite (or Uniate) forms and the necessity of working with the military and civil help to bind together the more or less remote Jesuit communities of Royal Hungary and the rest of the Austrian Province. But these factors were not the most important sources of the connection. The universalist and uniform aspects of the Society's mission worldwide were far deeper than the easily recognized similarities in record keeping; the tasks of preaching, teaching, and converting, despite the allowances made for local circumstances, were strikingly uniform in the techniques, goals, and ways of measuring success. While this approach could be criticized for its rigidity, there were several reasons for the limited degree of adaptation and flexibility undertaken by the Society. First, the desired outcome of the Society was not concord among the various confessions present in the region, but the triumph of Catholicism in its several forms, Tridentine and Eastern Rite. And while seldom stated explicitly, Tridentine Catholicism was intended always to have the upper hand in its relations with the Eastern Rite.

Moreover, the triumph at which the Society aimed was not a relative one, where some accommodations might be made with other confessions or for varying interpretations of dogma among Catholics. Instead what the Jesuits sought, from the first, was an absolute victory of Catholicism, even if their approaches often required close and courteous interaction with non-Catholics. This uncompromising spirit was most evident in the seventeenth-century Austrian Province, although it did not die away completely in the eighteenth, and even lived on after 1773 in the mindset of some former Jesuits. While Theresian Vienna had already started on the journey towards a rationalist system influenced somewhat by Enlightenment ideals, Hungary proper remained under the *Carolina Resolutio* of 1730, which decreed civil penalties for non-Catholics and perpetuated what has been called a second

Counter-Reformation.⁸ In Royal Hungary, not only was an “acatholicus” of whatever stripe dangerous from an ecclesiastical perspective, but confessional variety bred political confrontation, something that the Society’s most important allies the Habsburgs viewed with horror and which they made every effort to suppress.

As the Society negotiated its position in a sometime hostile and not infrequently fluid environment, the role of theology in its enterprise, as opposed to the promotion of orthopraxy, could be at times obscure. The Habsburg East knew nothing of the controversies that rocked the Catholic Church in France and no movement comparable to Jansenism ever arose within the eastern reaches of the Austrian Province. And most of the Danube Basin was free of the overt rivalry between Jesuits and other Catholic religious orders, something all too common to the east and south. Instead Jesuits working on the eastern and southern peripheries of Catholic Europe had to contend, not with challenges to their own understanding of the role of penance, for example, but with a lack of institutional infrastructure resulting from a long Ottoman occupation and with unstable material conditions. Yet something additional may have been lacking. Creativity did not characterize the theological output, which was nonetheless sizable, of these Jesuits. Since the composition of theological texts requires neither scientific apparatus nor an immense library (and as we shall see, Jesuit libraries in the region were more than equal to this demand) the relative aridity of examples of this Jesuit specialty must be considered as we examine the Society’s response to adversity. Among the possible factors at work here was the pattern by which young men were recruited into the Society and the attractions a life as a Jesuit would have held for a student even before the process of recruitment had gone into high gear.

The Jesuits of Royal Hungary can be credited with a major contribution to the integration of the region into the larger Habsburg polity. After the first decade of the eighteenth century, no community of Royal Hungary, in what was now part of the greater reconstituted Kingdom of Hungary, ever raised serious opposition to the House of Austria. Jesuit schools contributed to this integration most of all,

⁸ The *Carolina Resolutio*, reaffirmed by Maria Theresia in 1742, regulated mixed marriages, and compelled Protestants to observe Catholic holy days. Király, “The Hungarian Church,” 113.

training the admittedly small number of diocesan clergy and laymen who became intellectual leaders in the middle to late eighteenth century. As it had in diverse settings, the curriculum of the *Ratio*, even when it was encountered in a piecemeal and incomplete fashion, functioned as a catalyst for cultural cohesion; the sons of magnates, merchants and peasants mastered the vocabulary of virtue and were guided to draw similar conclusions about appropriate artistic expression.⁹ Even the smaller towns of Royal Hungary gained contact with the high baroque aesthetic of the Habsburg lands, in both its architectural and literary forms, in large part because of the presence of Jesuit teachers, preachers, and builders. Yet this facet of the Jesuit presence remained in a real way alien to the indigenous culture of the region, not the least because the material culture created by the Society had as its goal a connection with established folkways and patterns of life, not the rebuilding of a shattered nation. The Society's strategy of building schools (many of which had no pretensions of being considered universities that would compete with older institutions with that name) in the busy towns of France and Italy was largely a success,¹⁰ since there were often existing traditions of Catholic education in these communities and despite the rivalries between competing Catholic religious orders a substantial segment of the upper classes continued to support Catholicism. In Royal Hungary the Jesuits could count on neither of these factors, and while the Society always cultivated powerful sponsors, its greatest sponsor in the region, the House of Habsburg, was often short of cash and never genuinely popular among the majority of the landed gentry and aristocracy especially in the east. Yet the very absence of other institutions often impelled Jesuits to create „academiae” and even a few universities.

The position of the Society in such an environment was at once far more secure politically than in many other European countries,¹¹ yet

⁹ Virtue might be expressed through Jesuit art, as when Joannes Gyologi (1686–1761) listed Christian virtues by describing an imaginary church interior and the artworks in it. Knapp and Tüskés, “The Emblem in Hungary,” 66.

¹⁰ Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 480–484.

¹¹ Jesuits of the Austrian Province were spared the drama of one of their fellows being accused of heresy, something that could happen even in allegedly “Jesuit ridden” Spain. Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas*, 185.

more fragile than it seemed at first glance. Despite immense efforts and measureable success in creating a network of Jesuit communities and schools, the Society never overcame the lasting resentment of at least a segment of the Protestant population, nor did its ambitions to extend Catholic culture into east succeed greatly. Jesuit school drama is one monument that the fathers working along the peripheries left behind, but the actual influence of this art form was ultimately far less than the vast number of known titles might seem to suggest.¹²

While not ephemeral, the long-term Jesuit impact on the peripheries of the Habsburg east eludes easy analysis, perhaps because the post-Suppression landscape left few areas for the seeds that Jesuits had planted to grow. The entire edifice of the Society's program was predicated to a great degree on a baroque sensibility that included religious piety but also extended to aesthetics. In a city such as Vienna, with the strong support of elites and the means of persuading or even compelling people to participate, this baroque culture flourished.¹³ The sources cited in this study will show how in many instances the same sensibility and aesthetic, while leaving a considerable artistic legacy, was not driven by the same sustaining forces, and like the Jesuits who promoted it, faced continual adversity.

¹² This theme is taken up in the author's "Counter-Reformation Drama: The Special Case of Hungary" in *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, eds. Mary Laven and Alex Bamji (forthcoming).

¹³ Vocelka, "Counter-Reformation and Popular Piety," 131–132.

I

Narratives of Adversity

It is fair to say that the Jesuit contribution to the cultural history of East-Central and indeed to that of Eastern Europe was much more important than that of the West.¹

The Society of Jesus has inspired more debate, scholarship, and speculation than any other Catholic order, and has probably been the subject of more books and articles than any other religious organization in history. The reasons for this are not hard to find. The Jesuits exploded onto the world stage in the mid-sixteenth century, and quickly became the most visible worldwide exponent both of Reformed Catholicism and of an expansionist European mindset that was not limited to Catholics.² A century later the Jesuits were operating 800 schools on all of the known continents and had become the objects of heated debates about their beliefs, motives, and actions.³ As time passed the controversies about the motivations and methods of the Jesuits as well as their results gained intensity, and in recent years have coalesced around contemporary questions of globalization, inculturation, and the transactional nature of religious conversion that have gained prominence in academic discourse.⁴ The Society has been labeled “the first multinational corporation” and Jesuits dubbed, with some exaggeration,

¹ Burke, *Jesuits and the Art of Translation*, 31.

² O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*.

³ Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 33.

⁴ E.g. Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric, and Proof*, 78; Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, 175.

“planetary men, the first in whom the world network became, to some degree, a world system.”⁵ On occasion during the past century eminent historians have weighed in with interpretations of the motives of the early Jesuits that sometimes seem based more on wishful thinking and anachronistic attribution of motives than on evidence.⁶ Meanwhile the field of Jesuit studies, once the home of confessional polemics, has burgeoned in recent years, and the wealth of still unexamined materials left behind by the Jesuits seems to guarantee that scholarly investigations, both by those focusing directly on Jesuits and by others dealing with broader cultural themes, will prove fruitful for many years to come. The question therefore is not—Why another book on Jesuits? But rather—What kind of book on Jesuits?

While the remarkable successes of the Society, advertised with consummate skill by the Jesuits themselves,⁷ grab our attention, other events that were less than successes also deserve close examination. Some of the setbacks experienced by the Society in the first decades of its existence were spectacular, to the point that the retelling and visual representation of these seeming disasters themselves became an important part of the culture and lore of the Jesuits and shaped the Society’s self-perception.⁸ Yet as Jennifer D. Selwyn notes, there is legitimate danger in becoming too preoccupied with Jesuit “success” and “failure,” especially when anachronistic standards of our own individualistic, competitive modern society are applied.⁹ Certainly the early Jesuits who were martyred, banished, or faced imprisonment did not necessarily see themselves as failures, but instead understood adversity as useful to the

⁵ Headley, *The Europeanization of the World*, 97, quoting Samuel Adrian Miles Adshead, *China in World History*, 247.

⁶ Arnold Toynbee, for example, wrote that the Jesuits of China “were acting with uncommon insight and courage in trying to discriminate the essence of Christianity from its Western antecedents.” Toynbee, *An Historian’s Approach to Religion*, 267.

⁷ *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesv*. The Jesuit concern for self-representation as expressed in the *Imago* was relatively unusual in the seventeenth century. Burke, “The Jesuits and the Art of Translation,” 30.

⁸ The best known of these disasters was the destruction of the Japanese mission. The 26 Jesuits martyred in Nagasaki in 1597 soon became part of the triumphant narrative of the Society, retold many times in school dramas produced by the Jesuits. Yuki, *Martyrs’ Hill: Nagasaki*.

⁹ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 11–12.

just and necessary for sinners.¹⁰ Yet Jesuit enterprises did experience disasters, defeats and frustrations: practical goals were not achieved, conversions proved impermanent, anticipated support from the powerful dried up, and natural calamities destroyed the physical creations of the Society. Jesuits sometimes tasted bitter, even self-destructive disappointment and depression.¹¹ Recent scholarship, including that undertaken by Jesuits, has begun to look at these failures in a new light, something that has had a very salutary effect on the study of the Society.¹²

This book examines the experience of challenge and adversity among some of the Jesuits of the Austrian Province from the moment of “high tide” of the Society, in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, until the suppression of the Society by papal *breve* in 1773.¹³ In particular the focus will be on the eastern and northern fringes of this vast, almost ungovernable administrative unit, which stretched to Moldavia, Ukraine, Serbia and Wallachia, and which was continually riven with ethnic tensions.¹⁴ With very few exceptions, these regions, the home of hundreds of Jesuits,¹⁵ were not the scene of spectacular systematic Jesuit setbacks such as occurred in Japan, Ethiopia, or later China. Rather the Jesuit experience in the eastern reaches of the Habsburg realms unfolds in the documents generated by the fathers as a complex mix of subjective and individually varied reactions to events

¹⁰ This idea was developed by the French Jesuit Claude de la Colombière (1641–1682) in his “The Secret of Peace and Happiness.” de la Colombière, *For God’s Greater Glory*, 166.

¹¹ The suicide in 1628 of the well known Jesuit traveler Nicolas Trigault for example was covered up by Jesuit officials. Dame Olwen Hufton, personal communication, 12 February 2009.

¹² In the words of Timothy Brook, “Jesuit historians have learned to historicize their subjects and recognize setbacks as something historically more interesting than tests in an allegory of faith.” Brook, Review, 620.

¹³ Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation*, 63; Smith, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*.

¹⁴ Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita rendtartomány kérdése*. Not only did Hungarian Jesuits seek a province of their own separate from the Austrians, but Slovene and Croat Jesuits also quarreled. Pörtner, “Defending the Catholic Enterprise,” 569–586. Thanks to Dr. Pörtner for making this material available prior to its publication.

¹⁵ In 1749, the entire province counted 1772 Jesuits, “ex his sacerdotes 751.” Hamy, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire des domiciles*, 20.

both explicable and inexplicable. Like their brethren elsewhere, Central European Jesuits struggled with the tension between rendering some of what they encountered as comprehensible within a paradigm of identifying theological and cultural “equivalencies,”¹⁶ while identifying the unique and even the bizarre, which nonetheless might add to an edifying narrative about the progress of the Jesuits and the advance of the Holy Church.

By attempting to explore the subjective, recorded responses of men to a wide variety of experiences, including adversity, doubt, miscommunication, and even failure, this book must also address the problematics that accompany interpretation of written documentation of experiences, especially when several centuries separate the writer from the reader and interpreter, and what Peter Burke calls the “fictive elements” of an official record become harder to identify.¹⁷ This exploration is significantly aided by our growing understanding of the different ways Jesuits collected, categorized and recorded information.¹⁸ Yet what remains elusive at times is a grasp of what individual Jesuits understood themselves to be doing, since they kept their records in a language that was not their native tongue (and as the documents themselves reveal, of which not all Jesuits had a strong command), and in doing so followed established formulae and epistolary modes that could obscure their own motives and feelings.¹⁹

¹⁶ The pre-1773 Society sought to “establish equivalencies” as it came in contact with different cultures, a tendency driven both by the desire to locate the means of introducing Catholic teaching, and by a genuine hope of finding rationally defined commonalities among diverse human configurations. Davidson, *The Universal Baroque*, 11.

¹⁷ Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 126.

¹⁸ For example, Markus Friedrich has identified a shift around the middle of the seventeenth century, when the composers of the *Litterae Annuae* or “annual letters” began to write their accounts along thematic rather than geographic lines. Markus Friedrich, “Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*,” 20–23. The relationship between audience and content of Jesuit letters is explicated in Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*, 74–78.

¹⁹ For example, Ines G. Županov notes that Ignatius of Loyola identified four audiences of epistolary writing: the kings and the nobles, the common people, the Company, and yourself. These she correlated with four epistolary writing modes, geo-ethnographic, dialogic/polemical, theatrical, and self-

Each Jesuit writer possessed, to a greater or lesser degree, a dual identity which shaped both his personal understanding and the written recording of his experiences. To a greater degree than the members of most other Catholic orders a Jesuit functioned as an individual, given the responsibility (particularly when on isolated missions) to make decisions, often without recourse to his superiors, who might reside hundreds or even thousands of miles away. These decisions were based on his best assessment of local conditions, and through an understanding of the Jesuit's mission shaped through the process of "discernment." But every Jesuit was also part of a highly literate, world-spanning organization, whose writers self-consciously echoed earlier Jesuit writers and who strove to portray the enterprises of the Society as a unified whole whose members were nevertheless highly mobile and to a degree interchangeable. Such an approach sometimes fostered the non-critical collection of data whose presentation would do no violence to the established and edifying narrative.²⁰ On other occasions facts were pre-selected to fit an anthropomorphic rendering of the Society which tended to exclude failures and contretemps. Indeed the "Life history" of the Society as recorded in the *Imago Primi Saeculi* presented Jesuits collectively as an entity that was born (*nascens*), grew (*crescens*), suffered (*patiens*), and was ultimately triumphant, a biography closely matching that of the Savior for whom the Society was named.

The differing categories of the Society's correspondence and the varying audiences of Jesuit letters and reports make investigation of archives holding Jesuit materials an undertaking requiring sensitivity to the relation of the writer to the institution that requires him to write.²¹ There is also the psychological state of the Jesuit writer, hard to assess from this distance, but undoubtedly a major influence on the composition of these documents. Ines Županov, here writing of the Society's Indian missions, points out:

expressive, each of which would shape the organization and content of Jesuit writings. Županov, *Disputed Mission*, 32.

²⁰ Caruana, "The Jesuits and the quiet side of the Scientific Revolution," 254.

²¹ Ginzburg notes that records of the ideas of the "subordinate classes" are written at one remove from their source by those "more or less openly attached to the dominant culture." To give only one example, the experiences of Jesuit *coadjutores temporales* or brothers would have been typically recorded by Jesuit priests. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, xv.

Until the suppression of the Jesuits in the middle of the eighteenth century, all the Jesuits in the Maduari mission followed [Roberto] Nobili's adaptationist method of conversion and continued to rely on the utopian mode in their writing whenever they wanted to situate their own position as subjects in the missionary field. In a state of permanent weakness and insecurity without direct institutional support, the missionaries were doomed to live and write a utopia in order to bridge the gap between the strange and the familiar, the mute and the loquacious, the "pagan" and the Christian.²²

The degree of weakness and insecurity felt by the Jesuits of the Habsburg east was not so pronounced as that of their brethren in Asia, but there are parallels between the two experiences. Missions conducted in at least nominally Catholic regions of Central Europe faced other, perhaps more subtle challenges: merchants might treat the arrival of a travelling mission as a time to promote business, and the atmosphere of the community during a Jesuit missionary's visit could resemble a bustling fair more than an opportunity for repentance and reform.²³

And while this book is in no way a study in art history or the history of science, the activities of the Society in these areas cannot be ignored when examining the documents that make up a written narrative such as that created by the Jesuits. This is especially true for the Jesuits working in the realms of the House of Habsburg. To borrow a phrase from Robert Evans, the work of the Jesuits in these lands was the single most important element of the "universal enterprise" of the dynasty which aimed at the regaining of a large segment of Europe for Catholicism.²⁴ The work of the Jesuits of the Austrian Province was also a key part of the even greater "universal enterprise" of the Society itself, a project of conversion and education that proclaimed immodestly "unus non sufficit orbis"—one world is not enough.²⁵ The Jesuit

²² Županov, *Disputed Mission*, 235.

²³ Louis, *The Religion of the Poor*, 167.

²⁴ Evans, *The Making*, 419.

²⁵ This line, also used on the sails of the ship that bore the Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega to the New World, is slightly modified from one in Juvenal's *Satires*, itself derived from Plutarch's *Moralia* [vi], 466, 4, which refers to the ambition of Alexander the Great, weeping because there were no worlds

project in the Habsburg East was therefore balanced in a cat's cradle of several tensions, including some that were internal, that were the source both of much of the Society's strength and of its vulnerability.²⁶

First, the organization of the Society was highly rationalized, with the tasks and lines of responsibilities of each category of Jesuit spelled out in the Society's *Constitutions*.²⁷ Obedience was a basic expectation, and "disturbers of the Society" were to be cast out or penalized.²⁸ Yet the glue that held the Society together was the deeply personal and in some ways highly individual experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*,²⁹ which while undertaken with a spiritual director, required each retreatant to imagine and internalize the physical and emotional aspects of Scripture. The experience of the *Exercises* was then expressed in a climate of baroque devotion that exalted self-denial, mortification of the flesh, and passionate attachment to the Eucharist or the Virgin, whose cult the Jesuits planted and promoted wherever they went.³⁰ The religious passions of the Jesuits were thus simultaneously individual in their origins and also reflections of collective and continually reinforced belief and experience. The modern reader is struck by the emotional intensity, and at times seemingly unconscious sensuality, in the devotional writings of men who in other contexts could be examples of a Stoic *indifferentia* to pain and death.³¹ The art found in

to conquer. The writer acknowledges Travis Brimhall for identifying this connection.

²⁶ While scholars have examined, for example, the tensions between Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits, our understanding of Jesuit national or ethnic identity in the context of what Ginzburg termed the "crisis of ethnocentricity in the sixteenth century" is still incomplete. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, 78.

²⁷ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*.

²⁸ Decree 54 of the 5th General Congregation, (1593–1594), in Padberg, O'Keefe and McCarthy, eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 204–205.

²⁹ The *Exercises* were composed by Ignatius about 1522 to 1524, and were approved by the pope and published in 1548. Ganss, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*. Far from producing the robotic automatons of anti-Jesuit polemics, the *Exercises* could give Jesuits immense confidence to act in the world. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 205.

³⁰ Stephanus Csete (1648–1718) carried the cult of the Virgin deep into Transylvania by way of Poland. Weiser, *Vitae Patrum et Magistrorum*, 84–88.

³¹ The Jesuit curriculum of the *Ratio Studiorum* included attention devoted to *indifferentia* through the *Paradoxia Stoicorum* of Cicero. Reiss, "Revising Descartes," 30.

Jesuit churches has frequently been parsed as a self-conscious attempt to draw the faithful—or not yet faithful—first through curiosity, and then through sensuous appeal and affective engagement.³² The paintings, decorative details and sculpture produced by the Society were however also for the benefit for the Jesuits themselves. These creations, often the work of Jesuit brothers, were an expression of the profound emotionality and underlying physicality lying just beneath the surface of Jesuit culture itself and which supplemented the Society's more intellectually abstract accomplishments.³³

Likewise the tens of thousands of dramas produced by the Society's schools drew upon the *regulae* of Ciceronian rhetoric but simultaneously appealed to the senses and feelings through their "special effects" and plots that drew upon emotionally charged themes of virginity, Divine retribution, sacrifice, and noble death.³⁴ The heightened emotionality and dramatic juxtaposition of contrasts that characterizes Jesuit culture in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was also a response to a period of crisis and disaster for much of Europe and Asia, on political, economic and biological fronts.³⁵ Besides these crises were additional circumstances, such as a very high infant

³² Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 185.

³³ The root of this sensuality was the *Spiritual Exercises* themselves, which required the retreatant to envision the physical details of Christ's life. Smith, Jeffrey Chipps, *Sensuous Worship*, 44. The experience for laypersons was of equivalent intensity, and considerable importance was attached to the completion of the exercises by lay retreatants. A sensual link thus was built between Jesuits and the laity. In Trnava in 1650, we read "... usu propè receptu[m] est Neo-Mystis, non nisi per exercitia, velut per sacram portam introire ad altare dei." (... the initiates gain access only through exercises, just as if through a holy gate to the Altar of God.) *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.*, 84.

³⁴ For the relation of "special effects" to the visualizations experienced in the *Spiritual Exercises*, see Mitchell, *The Jesuits: A History*, 140–141. The use of ghosts and spirits in these plays is discussed in Hóman and Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, VI. kötet, 383–38. The single most complete register of Jesuit school dramas in the easterly portions of the Austrian Province is Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*. See also Kilián, "Törökverő magyarok az iskoladramában," and Shore, "Baroque Drama."

³⁵ Schöffner, "Did Holland's Golden Age Coincide with a Period of Crisis?" 84–87. Historians have also pointed out the effects of an economic crisis and of a breakdown in social relationships, as well as a new intrusion

and child mortality rates, which since they were constant, at the time would not have been perceived as crises but nonetheless added stress, bereavement and confusion to the daily lives of most people.³⁶ Austrian Jesuits experienced the first decade of the eighteenth century, with the Rákóczi rebellion and the War of Spanish Succession (in which the Habsburg claimant, the Archduke Charles, was defeated) as a widespread experience of “detrimentum.”³⁷ Even earlier, in the years of the last Ottoman push to capture Vienna, the Austrian Province had seen a decline in its numbers.³⁸ So, even as the Society refined its modes of aesthetic expression, it was called upon in its Habsburg enterprises to confront mounting instances of human suffering and misfortune, some of which were diagnosed as God’s punishment for sin.³⁹ This tension between the much discussed “glory of the baroque” and reality of famine, plague and rebellion is a distinguishing characteristic of the Jesuit

of religion into people’s lives. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability*, 5. For the economic crisis see Hobsbawm, “The Overall Crisis of the European Economy.”

³⁶ There are no reliable data for child mortality for the Habsburg realms during this period. In the mid-seventeenth century in the Beauvoisis district, north of Paris, 42% of children died before their fifteenth birthday. Ernst, *Teufelaustreibungen*, 12.

³⁷ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 4. The Roman headquarters of the Society even maintained files on the “detrimenta” Jesuits faced worldwide: *Historia S.J.*, 137, ARSI; Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, 244–45, footnote 17.

³⁸ The number of members of the Austrian Province fell from 1,177 in 1679 to 889 in 1685, and slowly rose afterwards. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. 3, 185.

³⁹ Already in 1622 high prices and the plague had been described as expressions of God’s anger at Hungary. Hein, *Szepességi, avagy löcsei krónika és évkönyv*, 158. Foreign invasion, in the view of Protestant preacher Megyesi Pál, was the consequence of idolatry, drunkenness, cursing, fornication, and other sins. Murdock, “Death, prophecy and judgment in Transylvania,” 220. The relationship between sin and punishment might be expressed less directly in Jesuit documents. The obituary of Ladislaus Vid (1619–1687) asserted that Hungary had fallen into the hands of Turks and heretics, but Vid was untroubled, “eo quod sciret similia mala non posse evenire sine Dei beneplacito et iusto iudicio.” (because he understood that evils such as these might not occur except by the will and just judgment of God.) *Elogia Defunctorum IX*, Ms. I, Ab 145, fol. 98, ELTEK.

experience in the Austrian Province throughout the entire century and a half preceding the Suppression.⁴⁰

The asceticism attested to in the Society's narrative of its own activities forms another point of tension with the settings of power, wealth and exalted social exchange in which Jesuits often moved. This tension was far more than simply the ancient Christian trope of the temptation of luxury, power or sex placed in front of the hermit; instead the location of a Jesuit in the tension between pleasure and denial was on occasion the dramatic setting for the public display of Jesuit virtue and influence, as retold in the narrative of the Society. Jesuit obituary notices are crowded with accounts of extreme self-mortification and conspicuous restraint of the deceased when in the company of the wealthy and powerful. In these settings a Jesuit's physical presence at the tables of the mighty, validating as it did the importance of the Society, was as important as his own responses to luxury and potential gratification. The fact that the missionary Emericus Kiss (1631–1683) was at the court of Princess Zsófia Báthory is noted at the beginning of his obituary, but then we read "... in exquisita Principis mensa ferculorum apparatu cibi potûsque [eum esse] parcississimum, et extra consueta prandiis coenae tempora rarissimè quidquam admittentem" (... he was most sparing in consumption of dishes and drinks set before him at the

⁴⁰ Between 1640 and 1711, plague, spread by armies, camp followers and traders, struck Hungary and Transylvania at least fourteen times, with particularly severe epidemics in 1653–1656, 1660–1666, 1683, and 1708–1711. Plague made one final appearance in the eastern Austrian Province in 1739 to 1745. Ágoston and Oborni, "17. század," 100. Some counties lost as much as 40 to 46% of their population. Faragó, "Adatok a pestisjárványok magyarországi történetéhez," 41. Other infectious diseases, regarded as the "pestis," continued to ravage Hungary well into the middle of the century; An *ex voto* for delivery from the "plague" dated 1759 is in the church of St. Francis, Buda and other reports of "pestis" are found in the town records of Braşov for the same period. Even in years not identified as crests of plague epidemics, the cost to Jesuit communities could be very high. In 1679 alone the Uzhhorod community lost three priests "in obsequio pestiferorum." *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fols. 126–128, ELTEK. The same year in Győr, Petrus Gödi (1635–1711) provided "pharmacis" (medicines) to plague sufferers. *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Kap. A, Tomus V, fol. 5, ELTEK. For the use of medicines to promote the Faith, see Krapka and Mikula, *Dejiny Spoločnosti Ježišovej*, 262.

banquets of the Prince, and outside the usual times for dinner, very rarely did he even take a taste of something).⁴¹ Wenceslaus Wroteus (d. 1652), a *coadjutor spiritualis* and confessor to Count Slavata of Prague defenestration fame, was praised in his obituary as “nullo aulico pulvere sorditas,” further testimony of the high value placed on the ability of Jesuits to be in the world of power and magnificence, but not of it.⁴²

Indeed the simultaneous rejection of, yet proximity to luxury was an echo of the Society’s regulation that Jesuits were not to seek high positions such as a bishop’s seat, even as they found themselves close to the centers of power. Severe asceticism might even drive a Jesuit to reject some of the fruits of the Society’s own achievements in the healing arts, a renunciation that might be recorded with approval by another Jesuit. Yet the requirements of hospitality, the cultural norms of the region and, we may suppose, the desires of some Jesuits themselves resulted in the occasional engagement with lavish food and drink. Sometimes this lavishness was instituted by the civil authorities and noted approvingly by Jesuits, as when word reached Banská Štiavnica that Imperial forces were holding Uzhhorod: a *Te deum* was solemnly celebrated, and wine flowed, “ad gratuitam plebis complaudentis refectio-nem pro libitu.”⁴³ But we also read in Jesuit records that the guests at the Jesuit residence in Kláštor pod Znievom, clerics all, on Fat Tuesday 1716 “sat multu’ de vino ebiberunt.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 316, ELTEK. With comparable drama dangers that Kiss faced are also recorded: “... heterodoxorum impudentia ferrum non raro in insidiis aramavit in jugulum...” (... not infrequently in plots against him the steel of impudent heretics was placed against his throat.) But was this meant literally? *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms. I, Ab 146, fol. 316; 317, ELTEK.

⁴² *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesu anni M.D.C.LII*. (Pragae, [n.d.]), 71. The relationship between the Jesuit and his surroundings might be rendered in a phrase suggesting the self-conscious awareness of the former regarding the latter. Joannes Lippay (1606–1662) not only confronted many illnesses, but “in aulicis turbis nunquam turbatus” (he was never perturbed by the crowds at court). Horányi (probably quoting Jesuit documents), *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium*, vol. 2, 35.

⁴³ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust 1685, Austria 145*, fol. 129r, ARSI.

⁴⁴ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis ab 1704*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 260v, ELTEK. On the day after Christmas, 1736 the Maramureş Jesuit community entertained local dignitaries with a seven course meal that included ab-

Perhaps the most readily apparent tension within the Austrian Province of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was between the Jesuits' promotion of the universal and their necessary engagement with the particular. The message of the Tridentine Church, and the language, Latin, in which this message was articulated, were universal in application, as was the curricular tool that trained all Jesuits and guided their students, the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599.⁴⁵ But baroque Jesuits assiduously sought to adapt to local conditions, and not infrequently made compromises with their larger agenda in order to achieve an important objective that loomed before them.⁴⁶ In Hungary this meant confronting a formerly mostly Catholic region where a destructive Turkish occupation,⁴⁷ a stagnating economy, oppressive social arrangements that have been rightly called "late feudalism," and wholesale conversion to Protestantism in the sixteenth century left only a very stony soil in which to replant the seeds of a vibrant Catholicism.⁴⁸ Some districts regained from the Turks indeed presented a challenge seldom previously encountered by the Society in Europe: not merely few Catholics or an absence of Catholic clergy, but a completely uninhabited landscape.⁴⁹ The ideal promoted by the Council of Trent had been the cultivation of a stable parochial life, but in many communities in Royal Hungary, poor communications, the small number of Catholics, and the hostility with which they were regarded by others prevented the development of a close-knit pattern of parishes, or even the stable presence of a solitary parish priest.⁵⁰ Interwoven with each of these factors were inter-ethnic tensions that would only grow sharper in the eighteenth century. Jesuit missionaries therefore had to adapt

sinthe as well as wine. *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Residentiae Maros-Vasarhelyensis*, Szentiványi 691, XI, 68, fol. 172v, BB.

⁴⁵ Pavur, *The Ratio Studiorum*.

⁴⁶ French Jesuits made major compromises to secure their position within the Gallican Church. Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*, 243–244.

⁴⁷ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, traveling to Turkey thirty years after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, found Hungary between Neszmély and Buda "for the most part desert and uncultivated." Letter to Lady Mar, Peterwardein, 30 January 1717, in *Embassy to Constantinople*, 76.

⁴⁸ Kosáry, "The Enlightenment in Hungary," 69.

⁴⁹ Juhász, "Ladislaus Köszeghy," 64.

⁵⁰ O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 135.

their universalist vision to isolated, particularist, and sometimes xenophobic communities. Moreover the tension between Hungarian Estates (possessing a distinctive history and privileges tied to unique local circumstances) and the Crown (sacred and controlled by the Habsburgs, who made universalistic claims of sovereignty) was expressed in a “late feudal dualism” within which the Society operated and which placed Jesuits in sometimes ambiguous political positions.⁵¹ Elements of the universal/particular dichotomy existed at every level of Hungarian society with which the Jesuits engaged. The line between “superstition” that had to be eradicated and local custom that might be incorporated into acceptable Catholic practice had to be reinterpreted by Jesuits at every turn, a challenge that had as its intellectual background the probabilism controversy of the seventeenth century, in which the Society was deeply embroiled.⁵²

Jesuit uncertainty about the “acceptable” versus the “unacceptable” colored the Society’s dealings in both Europe and the Far East and reached back to its early curricular controversies of the sixteenth century, when the redoubtable Antonio Possevino (1534?–1611) had deplored chivalric romances of the sort Ignatius had enjoyed before his conversion, while Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621) had approved of Dante and even the much racier Boccaccio.⁵³ These debates in turn echoed similar ones over pagan versus Christian literature that had animated Church Fathers more than a millennium earlier, but which had acquired new urgency in an environment where Calvinists and rival Catholic orders decried the morals of Jesuits (while imitating their curriculum). The political landscape along the periphery of Habsburg lands continued to change through these years, as well, as alliances were redrawn and repeated blunders by Vienna-based monarchs and cruelties committed by their proxies alienated much of the Hungarian Estates and confirmed the resolve of the historic league of *Pentapolita*,

⁵¹ Kosáry, *Culture and Society*, 67.

⁵² Probabilism asserted that minority opinions on moral questions might still be followed, even when most authorities took an opposing view. Jesuit support for probabilism drew charges that the Society promoted moral laxity and even relativism. Ashworth, “Catholicism and Early Modern Science,” 157–158.

⁵³ Briggs and Burke, *A Social History of the Media*, 41.

a group of five Lutheran cities in Royal Hungary. Typical of these shifts was the way that the initial major success Jesuits had in converting Transylvanian nobles in the early seventeenth century faded a few decades later as opposition to advancing Habsburg power came to be expressed through hostility to Catholicism and especially to Jesuits.⁵⁴ Such changes left Jesuits making decisions about how to confront or engage powerful Calvinists, among others. The continual process of embracing what could be accepted as part of the universal while confronting the unacceptably particular persists as a *leitmotiv* in surviving Jesuit documents and points up the complex relationship between individual response and initiative and collective Jesuit identity. It was also, as we shall see, a fundamental aspect of the intellectual landscape of the Jesuits of the Austrian Province.

Another facet of the tension between the universal and the specific can be detected in the art created or commissioned by the Society. This creative tension existed between the individuals—most commonly Jesuit brothers, but occasionally non-Jesuits commissioned to do the work—producing works of art and the “aims and demands” made by a mobile and powerful Society.⁵⁵ The negotiation between individual subjective creativity and the broader ambitions of an organization pressing forward its ambitious theological and educational agenda resulted in an aesthetic climate utterly unlike that found in the secular princely courts or isolated monasteries of Europe.⁵⁶ Jesuit Baroque art, like the Society’s missionary endeavors and its casuistry, frequently sought reconciliation of radically differing viewpoints, sometimes with compelling results. In the Habsburg East, the Baroque compromise left behind a mixed heritage, with the “Danubian” style generally ascendant, and local traditions (with some significant exceptions) generally subsumed under the aesthetic endorsed by the House of Austria.

⁵⁴ Zimányi, *Economy and Society*, 103.

⁵⁵ Levy, *Propaganda*, 107.

⁵⁶ At times this new aesthetic climate could be broad enough to accept products of the Islamic Ottoman culture, even in the setting of a Catholic church. “Posonij altari B. Virginis dono venit ex testamento Adm. R. Domini Francisci Tattai Canonici Posoniensis tapes turcico labore contextus...” (In Bratislava the will of the most Reverend Lord Franciscus Tattai bequeathed a carpet woven in the Turkish fashion to the altar of the Blessed Virgin...) *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1684, Austria 145*, fol. 56v, ARSI.

Finally, the roles of Jesuit priests and brothers, while by no means in conflict, nevertheless generated a productive tension within the Society that has been largely ignored even by recent historians of the Jesuits.⁵⁷ The overwhelming majority of Jesuit generated writing was produced by priests, to be read by priests or their collaborators, and brothers received scant mention in the official reports of the Society. Yet their obituary notices, written by priests, suggest how significant the presence of these *coadjutores temporales* was in the communities where they served.⁵⁸ And although the original role of the *coadjutor temporalis* in the Society did not include even the utilization of the skills of reading and writing, some brothers of the Austrian Province became noted for just these skills. Dominicus Straßinger (1636–1694), whose assignments took him from Klagenfurt to Košice, and whose usual responsibilities ran to providing his colleague with fresh bed linen, “*Latinae linguae sat commodè gnarus erat nunquam tamen ejus notitia’ panderit, nisi ubi neccesitas et charitas id postularet*” (he was very well versed in Latin, but this was something he never called attention to, unless there was a need to read documents).⁵⁹ It seems that in emergencies this brother could compose documents in Latin, raising an intriguing question about the level of Latin competence among priests in some of the communities in which Straßinger worked. The wide array of acknowledged skills of another *coadjutor temporalis*, a Moravian named Josephus Sellinger working in the Cluj community, reveal how much Jesuit communities depended upon these men. The Jesuit had in Sellinger, “*architetum, fabrum lignarum, aurareum, arcularium, caementarium, hydraulicum, rectorem, ut ab iis quibus intimis notus erat omnis artifex ex merito vocitatus*” (architect, worker in wood, goldsmith, cabinetmaker, mason, hydraulic engineer, who to all who knew him well was noted as a craftsman in all ways and well called to his labor).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The standard English language history of the Jesuits does not even address the activities of the brothers. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*. But see the author’s “The Unknown Brethren of Cluj.”

⁵⁸ The role of obituary notices was both to record the notable events in the lives of individual Jesuits, and perhaps most importantly, to illustrate how the actions of the deceased fulfilled the ideal of the Society. Svatoš, “*Jezuitská elegia jako historický pramen*,” 207.

⁵⁹ *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fol. 130, ELTEK.

⁶⁰ *Historia S. J. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fols. 227v–228r [1737], OSzK.

At the same time the relationship of the institutional culture of the Society to the physical world was thrown into high relief by the ingenuity and energy of brothers who created works of art, equipped pharmacies, operated printing presses, delivered messages and money, and occasionally even preached and baptized babies when no priest was available.⁶¹ The relationship between priest and brother overlapped in some surprising ways. Some brothers had begun their Jesuit experience training to be priests, or at least as students in the *Ratio* curriculum.⁶² At least one seventeenth-century German brother had even earned a masters degree “inter Physicos” (among those studying physics).⁶³ Very rarely a brother might be of noble birth, as was the case with the Styrian born Joannes Baptista Lecher, who after service as a soldier “took up the standard of the army of Jesus” as a *coadjutor temporalis*.⁶⁴ In times of difficulty and manpower shortages, students studying to become priests might take up the work normally performed by the brothers.⁶⁵ A few brothers of the Austrian Province became musicians and sculptors of renown.⁶⁶ The intellectual capital of the Society was supported by the

⁶¹ Paulus Csomafai, a *coadjutor temporalis* in Caransebeș, originally was employed as a *celarius* but was such a gifted preacher in Romanian (he could also read Hungarian and Latin) that Father Joannes Sebessi recommended to the *Praepositus Generalis* that the brother be ordained a priest. The request was denied on the ground that it would set a bad precedent. Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés?* 181; Lukács, *Catalogi II*, 566. By contrast, Joannes Polian, who eventually became a secular priest, had earlier served as a Jesuit *coadjutor temporalis* on a mission to Moldavia in the 1640s. However, Polian was not educated and often drunk. Benda, ed., *Moldvai Csángó-Magyar Okmánytár*, i, 367–368. Joannes Gradwoll (–1655), a brother who served in Sopron, would give away religious trinkets, including “icunulas (little pictures), rosariola, hispanas cruces.” *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I. Ab 143, fol. 80, ELTEK.

⁶² Paulus Benyo (–1771) who was an *oeconomicus* or manager of household affairs, began his education in Jesuit schools and was competent in four languages. *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis, ad annum 1771*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 11r, ELTEK.

⁶³ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1661, Austria 142*, fol. 103v, ARSI.

⁶⁴ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1654, Austria 141*, fol. 124v, ARSI. A number of brothers had previously been soldiers.

⁶⁵ Letter of Gabriel Ivul, Cassoviae, 25.1.1660, *Austria 21*, fol. 318v, ARSI.

⁶⁶ Brother Franciscus Xavier Budinský (–1727) was a distinguished composer. Kačic, “Jezuiti v dejinách Slovenskej hudby,” 130; Fejér, *Defuncti Secundi*

material foundation provided by the brothers, but *coadjutores temporales* also contributed spiritual solidity (brothers undertook the *Spiritual Exercises* under the direction of their priestly colleagues)⁶⁷ and striking *exempla* of virtues exalted by the Society, most especially by becoming *victimae charitatis* who gave their lives caring for plague sufferers.⁶⁸ The Jesuit brothers of the eastern Austrian Province have had no proper place in the history of the Society. Yet in addition to such extreme examples of service there exist instances where brothers had direct and significant contact with marginalized populations. Christophorus Valecicz, in addition to his jobs as *ianitor*, *emptor*, *dispensator* and *cellarius* (doorkeeper, buyer, dispenser [of medicines?], and manager of the wine cellar,) also “habet curam pauperum ad portam” (was responsible for the care of the poor at the gate) in Zagreb in 1662.⁶⁹

The story of Jesuit encounters with adversity in the Habsburg East is also the story of cultural encounters on the far frontiers, both geographically and intellectually, of a European Catholicism in one of its most expansionist periods. The regions in which the Jesuits confronted a variety of belief systems lay on the outer edge of the recognized *Regnum Marianum*, the Catholic Hungarian kingdom that had been

Saeculi, 184. Emericus Sárdi (1606–1638) also appears in the record of the Trnava community as a “lapicida (stonecutter).” Lukács, *Catalogi II*, 734.

⁶⁷ The *Exercises* were apparently translated into Hungarian by Joannes Ketskemethy (1633–1712). Stoeger reports that this Jesuit published *Exercitia Spiritualia P. Ignatii Elfen* translated into Hungarian. However this work, whose Hungarian title translates as “A little spark from a great fire,” is apparently a compendium or a collection of excerpts from the original *Exercises*. This work was also published in Trnava. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 181; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 958.

⁶⁸ Lucas Blaskovics, who entered the Society in Trenčín in 1669, was one such *victima*, dying in Varaždin in 1684. *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fols. 363–364, ELTEK. Perhaps the last Jesuit of the Austrian Province to die in this way was Josephus Auer, the surgeon of the Alba Iulia community, who fell to the last great wave of plague in 1738. *Annuae Residentiae Soc’is Jesu Carolensis anno 1738*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 35v, BB.

⁶⁹ Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I. III*, 1641–1665 (Romae : Institutum Historicum S.I., 1990), 717; 514; 552; 592. Valecicz (1614–1664) also served in the Moldavian mission and in Spiš. Benda (ed.), *Moldvai Csángó-Magyar Okmánytár*, ii, 798. Valecicz had begun Jesuit training in the academic program and had gotten as far as the *humaniores*. *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms. I, Ab 146, fol. 139, ELTEK.

liberated from the Ottomans, and which was, in the Jesuit rendition, the direct descendant of the nation created in the sacred (if mythical) compact made by the “apostolic” king St. Stephen with the Virgin more than six centuries earlier.⁷⁰ To further the association of the newly liberated kingdom with Mary, the Society promoted devotion to miraculous images of the Virgin; by the close of the seventeenth century these numbered an astonishing 105 in Hungary and five more in Transylvania, with many communities possessing more than one.⁷¹ As Jesuits worked to develop a network of schools and residences, first in the crescent shaped rump of Royal Hungary, and then, after 1686, in the Habsburg-controlled Danube Basin and in Transylvania, they encountered, along with Protestant populations, individuals and communities that had never been Christianized or whose contact with Christianity had been oblique or marked by coercion. One of the most striking features of the Jesuit mission to the Habsburg east is the often difficult encounter between Jesuits and Jews (whose faith was described by Jesuits as a “superstitio”),⁷² Muslims and Roma,⁷³ as well as the rare individual “nullius fidei” who denied any association with organized religion.⁷⁴ Wandering through this disrupted environment Jesuit

⁷⁰ The first Christian king of Hungary was said to have given his crown to the Virgin. Török, *A katolikus egyház és liturgia Magyarországon*, 130. The Christian heroism of St. Stephen generated interest among Jesuits far from Hungary. In 1628 a play on the saint’s life was staged at the Jesuit *collegium* in Cologne. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 171. For the pre-Christian core of the *Regnum Marianum*, which draws upon the ancient Magyar story of the Turul and Emese, see Williams, *Women out of Place*, 168.

⁷¹ Szentiványi, *Curiosiora et selectiora*, decade 3, part 1, 53–55.

⁷² The conversion of even a solitary Jew was always a rare event, and one noted in the Society’s reports. E. g., “Judaea una” was converted in Satu Mare in 1771. *Historia Residentiae Sathmariensis Soc. Jesu incepta 1671*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 143, ELTEK.

⁷³ The chronicler of the Jesuit community in Alba Iulia noted that a missionary from the community reached out to the “vilem hominibus et abjectam plebeam Zingarorum,” nor did he shudder to enter the huts (“mapales”) of the Valachians. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 603.

⁷⁴ Recent scholarship has applied discourse analysis to definitions such as “superstition” employed by Jesuits and others in the religious competition in the Habsburg east. See Crăciun, “Superstition and Religious Differences,” 217. While Muslims were sometimes treated with some courtesy by Jesuits, in 1687, as Turkish forces were in retreat, Islam is described as an “Insana

missionaries also encountered others whose beliefs they simply put down to "Paganism."⁷⁵ Jesuits likewise collided with Eastern Orthodox Christians⁷⁶ and with other Catholic religious orders, in particular the Franciscans, whose approach to proselytizing and mission work was frequently at odds with the Society's program.⁷⁷

These themes of encounter, interpretation and adversity form the framework of the following book, which has taken shape while a new trend in Jesuit historiography was continuing to gain momentum. This trend, is most evident in scholarship of the last two decades, and is characterized by one critical scholar as containing the "clichés of the new Jesuit hagiography" promoted since the 32nd General Congregation of the Society held in 1974–1975. It reinterprets the actions of

Machometis daeliria." *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1687, Austria 147–148*, fol. 24v, ARSI. Only one Jesuit active in this region has been identified as having Turkish and therefore presumably Muslim parents: Andreas Neuhaus. Born about 1683, he was captured with his mother at the age of two and eventually sent to Venezuela, where he died in 1741. Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko*, 348.

⁷⁵ In Sopron in 1688, in addition to two female Muslims converted, "binae aliae à Christiana veritate ad paganismum delapsae [who had relapsed into paganism], reductae." *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1688, Austria 147–148*, fol. 23r, ARSI.

⁷⁶ Long before the mass migration of Serbian Orthodox northward into Habsburg territory, Jesuits in Komárno on the Danube were interacting with a community of "Rascaniorum" (meaning followers of one of the Orthodox Churches of the Balkans) numbering about 50. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1673, Austria 143*, fol. 37r, ARSI. Yet hostility to Jesuit efforts was deep among Orthodox believers. A Wallachian envoy to Moscow wrote in 1698, "The secular war may finish sometime, but the Jesuit war never." Quoted in Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683–1730," 195.

⁷⁷ While Jesuit writers in the Habsburg East were often at pains to mention the good relations between the Society and Franciscans, in regions such as Moldavia the hostility of the latter towards even the presence of Jesuits is well attested to. Dumea, "Catolicismul în Moldova," 51. When an anonymous Franciscan reported that Jesuits had been driven out of Carașova to Timoșoara "half dead" (semimortuos Temesvarium deduxerunt) by George I. Rákóczi, it is difficult to tell whether the author's attitude is one of regret or satisfaction. Miletič, "Über die Sprache und die Herkunft der sogenannten Krašovaner," 171. For their part the Franciscans could cause *scandalum* that put Jesuit projects in jeopardy, as when in 1643 two friars working in Moldavia converted to Islam. Periș, *Le missioni gesuite*, 177.

pre-Suppression Jesuits as inspired by “spirituality” rather than theology, and deemphasizes the Society’s relationship to Rome while stressing a deeper connection between Jesuits and the cultures in which they worked.⁷⁸ While this revisionist approach is not without merit, we shall argue that at least as regards their own understanding of their motives and experiences, the Jesuits of the Habsburg east deserve to be taken literally, and that by taking seriously their formal religiosity along with their biases and limitations, we come closer to understanding the role of these remarkable men in the religious and social history of the region.

⁷⁸ Pomplun, *Review*, 707.

II

Peripheries

Those on the periphery and those at center were bound together not only by iterated cycles of correspondence, but they were also bound by codes of trust and a common identity based on their shared formation as Jesuits and their commitments to the ideals of the Society.¹

The collection of territories belonging to the Hungarian Crown which in the mid-seventeenth century lay under Habsburg control was a secular administrator's nightmare.² The northeastern counties had enjoyed *de facto* independence from the Habsburgs at various points from the 1630s onward,³ and the region remained a hotbed of resistance to the ruling dynasty, mountainous and heavily forested, lacking decent roads or navigable waterways, and of little interest to alliance-builders in far-off Rome, where attention was instead focused on assembling a Holy League to fight the Turks.⁴ Repeated heavy-handed treatment by the Habsburgs

Portions of this chapter appeared, in a different form, in the author's "Mission Mostly Accomplished: Narratives of Jesuit Successes and Failures in Hungary and Transylvania, 1640–1772," *Publicationes* 15, no. 2 (2009): 181–184.

¹ Harris, "Confession-Building," 315.

² For the geographical problems inherent in defending and administering this region see Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*, 52.

³ Zombori, "Az ungvári g. e. püspöki lak és főegyház." Ferdinand II however refused to recognize Bethlen's authority in the region. Goetstouwers, *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu*, 173.

⁴ Aksan, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870*, 23.

in the latter part of the century left the population, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, angry and injured, a situation inviting comparison with the brutalized peasants of the Irish Pale.⁵ Farther into the mountains and beyond were peoples scarcely known or even named by Western Europeans: in 1666 Jesuits were reported to be traveling through the “land of the Cumans” somewhere in the Central Carpathians.⁶

Royal or Upper Hungary was also a singular challenge to a Society committed to its goals of advancing the cause of the Church, communicating in a coherent baroque aesthetic, building a network of schools, and articulating a comprehensible narrative of its own undertakings.⁷ This project that had been underway since 1554 when Nicholas Olahus (1493–1568), archbishop of Esztergom, invited the Jesuits to Trnava (now in Slovakia) to teach and help rebuild Catholic institutions in the rump of the historic Kingdom of Hungary left after the upheavals of the Reformation and the Turkish invasion.⁸ The

⁵ Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 11. See also Kowalská, “Z vlasti do exilu.”

⁶ The “Cumani” or “Comani” are the Cumans (or in Hungarian, Kun), a central Asiatic people who arrived in Hungary in the thirteenth century. According to one story, they arrived in Ruthenia among groups of prisoners of many nationalities captured by King Ladislaus in 1285. They were related to groups settled to the east in Moldavia. Benkő, *Milkovia*, ii, 7. Lucian Periș, citing G. I. Moisesescu, *Catholicismul în Moldova până la sfârșitul veacului al xiv-lea* (București, 1942), says Catholicism in Moldavia commenced with the conversion of the Cuman kagan Bortz-Membrock by the Dominicans in Esztergom (Periș, *Presenze Cattoliche*, 31). Yet it is possible that Jesuits meant Romanian-speaking Moldavians or Valachs here, and since seventeenth century maps often identified the Danube Basin east of the river as “Cumanorum Campus,” this too may be what is meant. Kupčik, *Alte Landkarten*, plate XIII.

⁷ Royal Hungary (Királyi Magyarország) is sometimes used interchangeably with “Upper Hungary”; the former term refers to land historically part of the Kingdom of Hungary previous to the Turkish occupation, and not under direct control of the Princes of Transylvania. While never an official designation the term is frequently applied to this region in the period before 1699, and here will likewise apply to the same territory in the decades following, to distinguish it from the Danube Basin.

⁸ Mrva and Daniel, “Slovakia during the Early Modern Era,” 119. Hungarian and Romanian historians have debated the question of Olahus’s nationality in a somewhat anachronistic fashion; what is more important is that Olahus identified himself as a Catholic and therefore an ally of the Habsburgs in their efforts to expand eastward. Ștefan Pascu, *A History of Transylvania*,

first Jesuit to set foot in Hungary is said to have been Juan de Vitoria, the rector of the Vienna *collegium* (–1578), who arrived in Trnava a few years later for a Church council.⁹ In fact Hungary was no afterthought for a Society already very busy with projects all over the world, and the seventeenth century saw considerable activity in both the lands around and within Ottoman occupied Hungary.¹⁰ During the first two decades of the seventeenth century Gregorius Vásárhelyi, “natione Hungarus, gente Dacus,” (a native of Hungary, but of Dacian, i.e. Romanian ancestry) had traveled from Pécs, deep in Ottoman territory, to Alba Iulia, converting Gabriel Bethlen, translating the catechism Peter Canisius (1521–1697) and the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis into Hungarian, and according to some accounts, spending years in Upper Hungary, and ending his career in 1623 as rector in Cluj.¹¹

Impressive triumphs and occasional setbacks in the struggle between Christian and Muslim in the nearby Danube Basin easily drew the attention of Jesuits far removed from the scene of action: The *Manductio* of Tirso González de Santala (1624–1705), published in 1687, when the reconquest of the country was in full swing, presents the picture of a Christian “Hercules” in combat with the “Mohamedan Hydra.”¹² Clearly there was heroic work to be done on this field of glory, but what of the more complex and perhaps less glamorous process of regaining the uplands to the north? And while there were successes to report, there also were setbacks that saw Jesuit schools struggling to survive in Ottoman territory.¹³

114. This relationship made the archbishop eager to promote the establishment of a Jesuit presence in Royal Hungary, and also set the tone for later Jesuit activities in the region.

⁹ Szilas, “A Jézus Társasága Magyarországon.” regi.jezsuita.hu/adattar/Magyarorszagitortenet.htm Vitoria was also instrumental in the establishment of the Trnava University.

¹⁰ Sávai, *Missziós Dokumentumok*.

¹¹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 376; Sotvells, et al., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum*, 310; Lukács, *Catalogi*, I, 807; Friscy, “Vásárhely, Gergely,” in O’Neill and Dominguez (eds.), *Diccionario*, iv, 3897.

¹² Colombo, “Jesuits and Islam,” 321. González (1624–1705) was elected the Superior General of the Society the same year that this book appeared.

¹³ Such as Gyöngyös, where in 1650 “in ultima Vngariae Residentiae lacinia in Turcarum Praesentium dominatu scholis et populo Catholico insudantis...” (in the furthest edge of Hungary, an area dominated by the Turks...) *Annuae*

Remote and lacking in wealth, cities and an extensive landed gentry, “Upper Hungary” has since been unfairly denigrated as a backwater of Baroque culture, its visual art branded as derivative and dominated by influences from Poland and Hungary.¹⁴ At least one historian has gone so far as to assert that “no creative genius was found in Slovakia.”¹⁵ The *ex post facto* identification of genius aside, the mining towns and villages clustered around medieval fortresses or churches that constituted the urban culture of the region were in fact not without artistic monuments, literary traditions, or educational institutions. Many towns possessed notable architectural monuments that could dwarf the communities in which they were located, and boasted respectable levels of adult literacy and a strong sense of local identity.

Košice

Whenever Christianity encountered a frontier,
it had need of martyrs.¹⁶

Košice (Kassa, Kaschau, Cassovia), where the Jesuits were to establish a major presence, is representative of such towns. The Society had begun to focus its attention on Košice after the episcopal seat of Eger

Litterae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L., 70. Jesuits could live anywhere in the Ottoman Empire by the early 1650s. Sebők, *Gyöngyös és vidéke története*, 163.

¹⁴ The direct influence of the burgeoning Polish Province on Jesuit artistic and cultural life in Royal Hungary was probably modest, with only a handful of documented instances of Polish Jesuits active in the region. A “Pictor Polonus” (Polish painter) who was probably a *coadjutor temporalis* performed work on the altar of the Jesuit church in Levoča, and may be the same “frater Polonus” who sojourned in Uzhhorod. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, [7 July 1696], fol. 11r, MOL. Another craftsman, Brother Matheus Kuffenperger (–1662) “fuit natione Polon’ opificio aurifer,” (a native of Poland, gold worker by trade) yet served as a janitor, dying in Sopron. And when war made life unsettled in Vilnius, Father Casimirus Dabrowski (1624–1660) left that city and came to the Austrian Province, dying in Košice. *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms I, Ab 139, fols. 516; 465, ELTEK; Lukacs, Catalogi II, 679.

¹⁵ Dvornik, *The Slavs*, 462.

¹⁶ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, quoted in Ahern, “Visual and verbal sites,” 7.

was lost to the Ottomans at the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Perched on the edge of a lowland that experienced great demographic changes in the early eighteenth century when large numbers of Slovaks moved southward from the mountains to the north and west,¹⁸ Košice had retained a largely Hungarian speaking population, with a sprinkling of other ethnicities.¹⁹ Significant because of its strategic location, Košice was an important fortress town for the Habsburgs or their rivals to dominate. Yet even by the reduced scale of urban development in the Habsburg East, Košice in the first part of the eighteenth century was a small place of perhaps 2,000 souls.²⁰ At the same time its key role in the several uprisings against the Habsburgs earned Košice a reputation beyond its size, and for a while the town was even known elsewhere in Europe as the “Capital of Hungary.”²¹ Košice also possessed the magnificent late Gothic cathedral of St. Elizabeth that in 1603 was seized from the Lutherans, who had worshipped in it for more than half a century, and given to the Jesuits.²² This transaction, similar to many others that occurred as the Habsburgs extended their control in the east, restored a concrete link to Catholicism that stretched back to at least the thirteenth century, although the move probably engendered more antagonism among the locals towards the Jesuits than nostalgia for a Catholic past. This did not deter the Jesuits, however, who

¹⁷ Szögi, ed., *Hat évszázad magyar egyetemei és főiskolái*, 24.

¹⁸ Kocsis and Kocsis-Hodosi, *Hungarian Minorities*, 16; Purš et al., *Atlas československých dějin*, plate 14.

¹⁹ Benda, “La société hongroise au XVIII^e siècle,” 18. During this same period there may have been significant movement of Turkish or other Muslims in the Danube Basin, although no reliable statistics are available. The record of conversions of Muslims in the late 1680s in cities such as Bratislava and Rožňava, a mining town in the mountains west of Košice, point to a scattered Muslim population lacking any institutional support after the Ottoman retreat and vulnerable to proselytizing. *Ungheria e Transilvania 2(1676–1695)*, fols. 213r; 249r, ASCPF.

²⁰ In 1720, Košice was smaller than Kremnica (5,000 inhabitants), Skalica (4,000), or Levoča (3,200). Mrva and Daniel, “Slovakia during the Early Modern Era,” 149–150. By the middle of the eighteenth century Košice had doubled in population.

²¹ An engraving in the Museum of Eastern Slovakia, Košice, identifies the town as such.

²² Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism*, 196.

at once began to root out the heretical “tares” they found in the Lord’s vineyard.²³ Once established in the town, Jesuits drew on other well-established institutions to advance their program of re-Catholicization, manipulating the trade guilds of communities such as Košice as instruments of proselytism.²⁴ Sermons were preached in Slovak by Jesuits in Košice, in an attempt to reach a population largely outside of the powerful institutions of the town.²⁵

A stronghold of Protestantism in the early seventeenth century, Košice was initially unreceptive to the appearance of the Jesuits who had first appeared in the region in 1601. The town had been the scene of the desecration and destruction of a crucifix by Calvinists in 1644, an incident sufficiently hostile and blasphemous to merit mention in the Jesuit *Litterae Annuae* of that year.²⁶ The following year the intensely Protestant George I Rákóczi, taking advantage of the weakness of the Emperor, had taken over *de facto* control of seven counties in northeastern Hungary, and at once had expelled the Jesuits from Košice.²⁷ Efforts to bring the people to knowledge of the True Faith continued to be met with stubborn opposition. In 1665, the Jesuits had to seek protection from the local magistrate in a town they still described as a “civitate haereticâ” against the “vexationes” visited by Protestant townspeople upon the converts they had made to Catholicism.²⁸ But Košice would undergo a steady transformation under Jesuit tutelage during the late

²³ “... Igitur haereseos zizania... extirpare...” *Initia Cassoviensis Societatis Jesu ab anno MDCI ad annum MDCXL...* (Cassoviae: Typis Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1743), 43. Although anonymous, this work is usually attributed to Andreas Adnányi (1716–1795) or Christophorus Alkai (1706–1766). Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 6.

²⁴ Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, 33.

²⁵ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.* 15 Feb. 1693, Ms II/1, Ab 86/2, fol. 4r, ELTEK. But in Košice the Slovak language never received the attention given to it by the Jesuit university and press in Trnava, which produced one of the first grammatical studies of the Slovak language, *De institutione grammatica libri tres*, written by Emmanuel Alvarez (1526–1583). Thanks to Valéria, Agoston Pribila, director of the Subotica (Serbia) Library for making this material available.

²⁶ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1644, Austria 139*, fol. 299v, ARSI.

²⁷ Arch. Segreto Vaticano, Cod. Urb. Lat. 1109 [1644–1645], fols. 14–15r, cited in Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, 81–82.

²⁸ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1665, Austria 142*, fol. 23r, ARSI.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries into a predominantly Catholic community, making it into another of the Society's Hungarian success stories,²⁹ and in 1735 would be one of the very few towns in Hungary ever to be granted a plenary indulgence from the Holy See.³⁰ In the Jesuit narrative of ultimate triumph over adversity, however, Košice possessed another monument far more significant than its cathedral or even the story of its slow reconversion: the site of the martyrdom of three Jesuits at the hands of Calvinist soldiers in the employ of George I Rákóczi in 1619.³¹ Their place of death, a jail, had been commemorated with a Jesuit church, erected between 1671 and 1681.³² This church, an austere example of early Habsburg baroque, had been paid for by Zsófia Báthory (1629–1680), the widow of George II Rákóczi, the Protestant Prince of Transylvania, and daughter-in-law of the ruler who had caused the Jesuits' deaths.³³

The Košice martyrs, while not canonized until 1995, quickly became emblems of a special kind of Jesuit triumph, as well as witnesses to the inhuman brutality of their tormentors (who were, through their inhumanity, themselves an essential component of the Society's martyrdom narratives). The deaths of two of the Jesuits, the Transylvanian Stephanus Pongracz and the Pole Melchior Grodecus, were commemorated in a haunting engraving, complete with an offstage executioner and a sadistic if slightly foppish Calvinist torturer, in the Society's

²⁹ By 1774, 84% of the population of Košice was Catholic. Kernács, "Kelemen Didák műveinek helye," 43.

³⁰ Delplace, ed, *Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis*, 459.

³¹ Tylanda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs*, 292. In the same persecution Father Leonardus Praesul (–1637?) was captured but later released. *Elogium Defunctorum VI*, Ms. I, Ab. 142, fol. 4, ELTEK.

³² Matula and Vozár (eds.), *Dejiny Slovenska II (1552–1848)*, 304.

³³ Zsófia Báthory reverted to Catholicism, her original faith, after her husband's death, and became a major supporter of the Jesuits. Letter to Martinus Laczmar, SJ, 28 March 1671, *Austria 8I*, fol. 595, ARSI. Báthory figured indirectly in another significant achievement of the Society: Stephanus Tarnóczy (1626–1689) made an important translation into Hungarian of the *Manductio* of Giovanni Bona, for her. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 631; Lajos, "A kegyes-érzelmes irodalom," 352. The dedicatory inscription of the church makes conspicuous the relation of the Society to its most prominent female patron during its long sojourn in Hungary: Principissa Sophia Bathorÿ de Somlÿo Anno Domini 1681.

pre-eminent seventeenth century martyrology.³⁴ The martyrdoms were later cited as particular evidence of the Catholic sanctity of Hungary—even though only one of the victims was ethnically Hungarian.

The successful recasting of the story of the martyrs of Košice by Jesuit writers is a model of how the Society took possession of the physical location of what might have been interpreted as a serious setback and transformed it into a focal point of miraculous wonder, devotion and ultimately material strength, even while the Society struggled against unceasing anti-Catholic hostility on all sides. The evidences of this triumph were not long in appearing. The Jesuit historian Gabriel Hevenesi (1656–1715), after recounting the deaths of earlier Catholic martyrs in the time of the Mongol invasions, reports how the Košice martyrs' blood could not be washed out of the place of their martyrdom, and that their relics began to produce cures.³⁵ The physical presence of the murdered Jesuits, now linked to key episodes in the Catholic history of the region, thus became more potent in death than it had been in life, with the fruits of their apostolic mission now clarified and its emotional impact heightened, all within the framework of Jesuit narration. The connection of other permanent and physical objects to the activities of the Society was confirmed by establishment of a Jesuit school, the ultimate physical creation of a Society that always attached significance to the creation and preservation of physical objects.³⁶ The Košice *collegium* eventually developed into one of the more important universities of Eastern Europe.³⁷

³⁴ Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans*, 88. The third martyr was the Croatian Marcus Kőrösi.

³⁵ Hevenesi, *Ungaricae Sanctitatis Indicia*, 87; 109.

³⁶ This attention to the preservation of the physical manifests itself in suggestive ways repeatedly in Jesuit documents. Brother Andreas Henner (1658–1701) was remembered for his ability to preserve beauty and light in his community's refectory: "Andrea Nostro sollicitè curatus in stanneis refectori' cantharis quos in tridiformos [?] et speculi ad instar lucentes conservabat..." (Our Andreas had the job of shining the three-sided [?] pewter vessels in the Refectory and he kept them gleaming like mirrors...) *Elogia Defunctorum* X, Ms. I, Ab 146, fol. 340, ELTEK.

³⁷ Kováč, *Dejiny Slovenska*, 74. The Jesuit *academia* in Košice was created through a donation of Bishop Benedek Kisdy of Eger on 26 February 1657. Document 38, Szögi, László, ed. and introduction, *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete 1367–1777*. The school was raised to the rank of an academy in

Both the erection of a Jesuit church on the site of these deaths which in its architectural style echoed the Society's church in Trnava, and the growing success of the nearby Jesuit school, represented the material victory of the Society in a region from which Jesuits had been expelled several times.³⁸ The creation of these permanent monuments also transformed the transient earthly careers of living Jesuits into lasting physical objects and locations capable of furthering the goals of the Society.³⁹ The mobility of living Jesuits who slept "with one foot on the ground" ready to travel was thereby complemented by the permanence and immobility of the institutions and structures that grew up in their wake, a pattern repeated throughout the Jesuit world. The similarities between the account of the Košice martyrs and accounts of other Jesuit martyrs likewise reinforced the continuity in the larger narrative of the Society and strengthened the sense of the Jesuits' mission in the region, and its relation to the broader goals of the Society.

The actual relics of the martyrs were eventually transported to the Jesuit church in Trnava, thereby spreading their power and renown from what was in essence the principle staging area of the Catholic reconquest of Hungary.⁴⁰ Yet the memory of this incident lingered in Košice, and sacrifice would remain a powerful theme in the local literary culture fostered by the Society in its schools and press.⁴¹ For

1660; five years later the Jesuits took over the job of training secular clergy as well. Farkas et al., ed., *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig. 1. Kassa, Pozsony, Sárospatak, Turóc, Ungvár*, xi. See also Tersztyánszky, *Cassovia Vetus ac Nova*.

³⁸ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 258.

³⁹ This redefinition of a Jesuit life in terms of place parallels the transformation in the seventeenth century of the word "mission" from a charge or individual responsibility to the geographical place to which a Jesuit was sent. Prosperi, "The Missionary," 168.

⁴⁰ Daniel Vasarhelyi was influential in achieving the translation of these relics about a dozen years after the martyrdoms had taken place. [Philippus Alegambe], *Mortes Illustres, et gesta eorum*. 312.

⁴¹ In 1714 the Košice Jesuit press produced *Mausoleum Honoris*, by Franciscus Fasching, said to be a tribute to the Jesuits who had died in the Hungarian plague epidemic of 1710–1713. The author has been unable to locate a copy of Fasching's work, which is also reported to have been published in Bardejov in 1713. Krapka and Mikula, *Dejiny*, 265; Eckert, *The Structure of Plagues and Pestilence*, 6; Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 67. In 1739 the *Syntaxis*

a Society motivated by *exempla* and engaged with the material world, physical reminders of this sacrifice were of particular value. And because Košice was occupied twice by rebel forces in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the idea of martyrdom remained plausible and vivid for Jesuits working there.⁴² Anti-Habsburg forces approached Košice in April of 1674, and a “Pater Gubieg” (who has not been identified from other Jesuit records) reported that “... rebelles incarcerationandos adductos Cassoviam Skalka [crossed out] 200 nostrates (quos prius rebelles pecunia ad partes suas attrahere nitebantur) milites ab Ungaria rebellibus subito ex insidiis procurrentibus occisi sunt.”⁴³ (“Nostrates” here does not mean Jesuits but fellow Czechs.)

Eight years later, the forces of Emericus Thököly occupied the town and the Jesuit community fled.⁴⁴ Valentinus Balogh, a Jesuit priest who apparently did not manage to escape, suffered many indignities, including beatings, a diet of bread and water, and extraction of his teeth.⁴⁵ Among other losses to the community, the library of the *Residentia*, valued at several thousand florins and numbering at least 4,000 volumes, fell into rebel hands.⁴⁶ Father Szczecin, elderly and infirm, was left behind and sought refuge with the Franciscans.⁴⁷ The

and *Grammatica* classes of the Košice Jesuit school performed a drama based on the execution of two German princes, *Conradinus et Fridericus a Carolo occisi*, a story which surprisingly also appears in Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*. Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, 2, 66.

⁴² Szabó, *A kassai jezsuiták*, 7.

⁴³ Letter of Franciscus Ježe S. J., 2 May 1674, in Schulz (ed.), *Korrespondence Jesuitů*, 99. “Rebels” had been active in the region the previous year as well, and seven were decapitated in Košice that August. *Diarium Coll. Cassov.* 25 August 1673 Ms. II, 86/1, fol. 19v, ELTEK.

⁴⁴ Pach and Várkonyi, eds, *Magyarország története 1526–1686 vol. 3, part 2, 1737*; “Andrae Szirmay de Szirmia, Accurata Descriptio Citadellae Cassoviensis suo ducta Auspiciis autem Emerici Thököli interceptae”, in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Minores*, 314. For the attitude of the Estates towards the Jesuits of Košice see Majláth, *A Felső vármegyék*, 62–63.

⁴⁵ *Elogia Defunctorum VI*, Ms. I, Ab 142, fols. 401–402, ELTEK.

⁴⁶ Berlász, “Magyarország egyházi könyvtárjai,” mek.iif.hu/03200/03240/html/02.htm#16; Farkas et al. (eds), *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562–1731*, 83.

⁴⁷ The rivalry between Franciscans and Jesuits was accompanied, in more than one instance, by truces and with the older order occupying properties formerly owned by the Society. Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 110.

rebels tortured the Jesuit (an echo of 1619) to learn where the rumored treasure of his community was hidden, but luckily the Catholic Baron de Saponara came to his aid, an act of kindness remembered later when the Society returned and could again claim victory over adversity.⁴⁸ Another priest whom we have already met and who had been part of the Košice community, Dominicus Lango (1635–1697), had been carried off by the Turks as a captive as far as Constantinople for two years, and finally rescued.⁴⁹ *Periculum*, a persistent theme in Jesuit accounts, had been endured and overcome. The act of escape from *periculum* itself could serve to validate and memorialize a Jesuit life. Adam Matkovicz (–1679), a *coadjutor temporalis* who served in Košice was working in a vineyard when he was set upon by *kuruc* rebels.⁵⁰ But because he was recognized by his captors as a man possessing “benevolentia,” he was set free.⁵¹ Here the temperament of a Jesuit, shaped through years of formation and work, functioned as more than an internally possessed virtue, but also had a practical usefulness, and moreover served as a vehicle for the Will of God to be carried out. The survival of Brother Adam was more than a personal triumph; it was also a triumph for the culture of the Society and provided yet another object lesson for Jesuits who would come after him. A somewhat similar story was told of Gregorius Todt (–1672) who while working a vineyard was unexpectedly set upon by “rebels” who took him away with his hands tied. Threatened by a sword, Brother Gregorius was rescued by two Calvinists impressed by his devotions, and “post non levem interpositione’ ereptus fuisset.”⁵²

⁴⁸ *Res. Sarospatakiensis 2, Relatio beneficorum praestitorum à Barone de Saponara Reverendis Patribus è Societate Jesu in Hungaria*, E152 214d, undated, fol. 7r, MOL. The seventeenth century abounds in the legends of hidden Jesuit treasure, and of Jesuits’ tools, such as an ivory ball that rolled towards treasures.

⁴⁹ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 97, ELTEK.

⁵⁰ Kuruc: a member of the armies of various movements against the Habsburgs in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Generally, but not always, these were ethnic Hungarians.

⁵¹ *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 199, ELTEK.

⁵² *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms. I, Ab 146, fol. 105, ELTEK. The rescue in the nick of time became something of a commonplace in Jesuit narratives. A garbled passage in the obituary of Father Stephanus Muczei (1626–1675)

Sometimes the path through *periculum* to success could come from an unlikely source. In Gyöngyös, a town long on the Ottoman frontier, the army of Thököly appeared in 1683. According to Krones, when the kuruc commander wanted to occupy the Jesuit residence, “dies der türkische Tschausch hindert.”⁵³ The triumph of Nicolaus Hrabovszky, a convert from Protestantism who trained in Trnava and had taught philosophy in Košice, was of a different sort. Escaping to Vienna when Košice was besieged, he taught at the Pazmaneum and cared for soldiers defending the city from the Turks. In this role he died a *victima caritatis* three weeks before the city’s siege was lifted.⁵⁴

Danger and unanticipated death remained constant features of the experience of the Jesuit community. Franciscus Kopeckzy (1614–1673) survived a hectic career that took him to locations as scattered as Trna, Vienna, Uzhhorod, Satu Mare and Košice during some of the worst years of the plague, only to die when his horse stumbled while crossing a bridge, throwing him into a river where he drowned.⁵⁵ But disease was the greatest and most persistent threat and source of fear. The mere occurrence of a Jesuit brother consuming medicine for some unnamed ailment merited mention in the *Diarium* of the community.⁵⁶ The plague was by far the supreme terror of seventeenth century Europe and most likely the “contagione” which carried off Father

suggests that his steadfastness earned or at least bought him time towards his release from his rebel captors: Hic tantum non lachrymas ferventi dictione suâ illis extorsit. Non permisit fidelem servum fidelis Deus inimicis diù vexari: nam eum cum sociis intra spatium 20 horarum extraordinario plane impulsu Magister equitum Croatorum (id ipsemet fassus est) contra rebelles profectus his fugatis è captivitate eripuit.” The passage seems to say Muczei himself reported that a Croatian master of horse obtained the Jesuit’s freedom within 20 hours of his capture. *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms. 1 Ab 146, fol. 135, ELTEK.

⁵³ Krones, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns*, 72.

⁵⁴ Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, iv, 1364.

⁵⁵ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1673, *Austria* 143, fol. 2r, ARSI; *RMNy III 1636–1655*, 2543.

⁵⁶ “Ch. Weber sumpsit medicina” (took medicine). *Diarium Coll. Cassov*, 6 Julii 1673, Ms. I, 86/1, fol. 16r, ELTEK. Ioannes Weber was a native of Schöpfheim, Switzerland. Other entries report the bleeding of various Jesuits and their journeys to medicinal springs. *Diarium Coll. Cassov.*, 11 May 1675; 16 May 1675; 19 May 1675, Ms. I, 86/1, fols. 50r-v, ELTEK.

Ladislau Gombos in 1653.⁵⁷ Thomas Vulpianus (1626–1655) is credited with “heroici laboris” while treating plague victims in Košice, perhaps during the same epidemic, although it is not clear if he later succumbed to the disease.⁵⁸ Father Stephanus Milley (1610–1677), sometime confessor to Zsófia Báthory, noted in 1660 the lack of a physician on the premises, whose presence would have been sought to combat the plague or any number of other maladies that afflicted the community.⁵⁹ The rector of the community, the distinguished Jesuit Martinus Palkovich, died two years later when the plague returned, while Franciscus Moro perished, a *victima charitatis*,⁶⁰ in the epidemic of 1710, a fate that earlier had also claimed Father Georgius Szunyog (1644–1678).⁶¹ The disruptions of war caused classes to be canceled in 1704, to be resumed the next year.⁶² In 1711 the *collegium* was closed again, because of the recurrence of the plague as well as continuing hostilities in the region.⁶³ It may also be that classes were suspended in 1745, since the records for that year are incomplete. The potential of an outbreak of the plague to disrupt or even paralyze the entire community cannot be overestimated. The looming threat of plague also influenced the cultural output of the Jesuits. In Sopron, a community often hard hit by the disease, a play entitled “Pestis Flagellum

⁵⁷ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1653, Austria 141*, fol. 190v, ARSI.

⁵⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms. I, Ab 146, fol. 312, ELTEK.

⁵⁹ *Austria 21*, letter of Stephanus Milley, Cassoviensis, 20 January 1660, fols. 315r–316v, ARSI.

⁶⁰ This term was a favorite among Jesuit writers as it captured two key elements of the virtues the Society sought to promote, although it was not limited to those who died caring for plague victims. See Weitenauer, “Victima Caritatis Theophilus,” 105.

⁶¹ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1662, Austria 142*, fol. 141r, ARSI. Palkovich (1607–1662) also taught in Trnava and Vienna. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 236; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 1796.

⁶² *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 57v. The town faced a “Ploguada” (Blockade) the same year; fol. 53v, AMK.

⁶³ The closure was undertaken “ob solitudinem professorum” (as a result of the concern expressed by the professors). The *Catalogus* of the school notes, “Superiores Scholae tum ob luem pestiferum tum verò ob bellicos tumultus vacarunt.” (The upper schools were closed both because of the plague and also because of the tumults of war.) *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 69v, AMK. The next year, the Humaniores class of the school did not count many students. Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 59.

Dei. Tragedia” was produced, having been written by Ambrosius Heigl, a priest of the community.⁶⁴ Notably, Jesuits working in Hungary wrote about the menace of the disease in unvarnished terms utterly unlike the courtly language used by the much more renowned Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) when he described the plague that afflicted Rome in 1656–1657.⁶⁵

Under pressure from repeated epidemics, Habsburg Jesuits were pulled in many directions at once, being constantly called upon to address practical problems while attending to their political relationships. The employment of the Jesuit press in Cluj to announce steps being taken to deal with the spread of the plague in 1744 was a small matter when considered alone, but was symptomatic of the constant intrusion of this dreaded enemy.⁶⁶ During an outbreak of the plague in the mid-eighteenth century, Andreas Patai, the rector of the *collegium* in Trnava, spent long hours kneeling in prayer before an image of the Virgin, seeking her intercession, while crisis swirled around him. Reliance on the Mother of God not only confirmed the longstanding Jesuit devotional practice but also strengthened the connection between the Society and the Habsburgs.⁶⁷ The omnipresence of this disease and its

⁶⁴ Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 138. The inclusion in the short title of both the phrase used to describe Attila, and the tool employed for self-mortification, is noteworthy.

⁶⁵ Kircher wrote unctuously that the plague struck the Eternal City “more softly as if it were honoring the sanctity and piety of the Pontiff.” Baldwin, “Reverie in Time of Plague,” 71, citing Kircher’s *Examination of the Plague*.

⁶⁶ Veress, “Erdély-és magyarországi régi oláh könyvek és nyomtatványok,” 317–318.

⁶⁷ Images of the Virgin were frequently employed in settings where Habsburg hegemony was expanded or confirmed; e. g., in a print produced after the battle of Zenta in 1697. In this illustration an impassive Madonna, identified by a Greek inscription, floats above the battle, surrounded by captured Turkish banners. “Gnadenbild als Symbol des Sieges bei Zenta, 1698 [sic].” Tüskés and Knapp, “Máriapócs.” The massive proliferation of images a few decades later of Maria Theresia, officially “king” of Hungary but manifestly female, may be viewed in this light. Thanks to Michael Yonan for his assistance in identifying this relationship.

The Habsburg dynasty, which at the end of the seventeenth century appropriated an image of the weeping Virgin originally located in Máriapócs, constantly sought ways to draw symbolic connections between the expressions of piety originating in the east and its own claims to Divine support

importance for the Jesuit experience in Hungary can hardly be overstated. Plague played the role in narratives composed by the Habsburg Jesuits that hostile native populations or cruel tyrants played elsewhere in the world, and Jesuit writers turned to varied metaphors or references to their occupations, sufferings or strengths to convey the roles of their confreres in the face of this killer. The work of Georgius Creiner (1633–1684), a Jesuit brother who served in Trenčín, Gorizia, Vienna, and Győr, received the appellation “palaestra,” with all the classical connotations of both debate and especially athletics.⁶⁸ Another *coadjutor temporalis* who also was a *victima caritatis*, Caspar Haidt (1643–1685) had been “in saeculo faber ferrarius,” (in secular life a blacksmith) an image that recalls the sturdy blacksmith in the *Imago Primi Saeculi*, whose occupation (faber) made a Latin pun on the strengths of one of the first Jesuits, Peter Favre.⁶⁹ Like Haidt, Joannes Grampas (1645–1681) was also a brother serving in Sopron, and although we are not told that he died from the plague, his obituary does call attention to “multis ulceribus” which afflicted him.⁷⁰

We gain a glimpse of the weapons the Jesuits of Košice had to fight disease from a contemporaneous anecdote from Uzhhorod. In 1704 the Father Rector of the community, Paulus Jackus, fell ill. The exact

for its rule, and also to standardize expressions of piety among diverse ethnic populations. This image of the Virgin as compassionate mother of the people was at times fused with the vision of Mary as the royal ruler of Hungary, the “Regnum Marianum”; together these manifestations of the Virgin possessed potent appeal in regions that may have still recalled some faint memory of pre-Christian goddess worship. In 1685 Gabriel Hevenesi produced a “Calendarium Marianum e victoriis contra gentiles, Turcas, haereticos et alios iniusti belli autores ... obtentis ... concinnatum.” Kulcsár, *Inventarium de operibus litterariis*, 234. The creator of a the “Weeping Madonna” of Cluj, painted around 1681, is reported to have been a Uniate named Lukács, which at that point, before the creation of the Transylvanian Uniate Church, must mean that the artist was a Ruthenian. Jordánszky, *Magyar Országban 's az ahhoz tartozó részekben*, 132.

⁶⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fol. 327, ELTEK.

⁶⁹ *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fols. 110–111, ELTEK.; *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 717. The wide distribution of this work makes it likely that its illustrations were known to at least some of the composers of these obituaries.

⁷⁰ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 438, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, IV, 786. Although Grampas had been a tailor in secular life, as a Jesuit he served as a miller, “infirmarius” (infirmary worker), and “dispensator.”

nature of his illness is not detailed, but the *Historia Collegii* reports that the priest was first bled, and then ingested a compound intended to make the patient sweat, derived from a bezoar stone.⁷¹ (The bezoar stone is produced in the intestines of some ruminants, and, it was claimed, monkeys, and in the early eighteenth century was believed to combat poison.⁷²) In Father Jackus's case, however, the stone was no more effective than the bloodletting he had undergone, for he died. Like everyone else, seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuits found themselves almost entirely helpless and at the mercy of many ailments whose causes they scarcely grasped.

Even in times of peace, violence could intrude on the Košice community. Murder, on 28 August 1724, claimed the life of Adalbertus Fabiani, a *Principista*, or student in one of the lower classes of the school, killed by a "guardian of the plum-trees" (*occisus a custode prunorum*) over an undisclosed sum of money.⁷³ During the rectorate of Ladislaus Vid (1672–1673) one student mortally wounded another, and the rector attempted to minimize the damage to the school by petitioning the king to permit the student to be judged by the academic judge (*judex*) of the university.⁷⁴ Fights broke out between students and town officials in 1731 and fourteen years later students brawled with the constabulary, continuing a tradition of ill will between town and gown documented in a statement issued by the town council in 1692 promising to respect the liberties and freedoms enjoyed by the university.⁷⁵

By comparison the expulsion of Michael Hamiel, a student among the *Minores* in 1734–1735 for thievery ("ejectus ob furta[m]") was more of an embarrassment than a tragedy, as was the arrest and expulsion in December of 1693 of student accused of slanderous language against his roommates ("quod verbis quibusdam cameraticos dehonestasset") who was confined in the school jail and summarily expelled

⁷¹ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 29r, JLB.

⁷² Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, i, 98, facsimile reproduction at <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/HistSciTech/HistSciTech-idx?type=turn&entity=HistSciTech000900240248>.

⁷³ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 94r, AMK.

⁷⁴ Halaga, "Z dejín," 529.

⁷⁵ Halaga, "Z dejín," 530.

from the school, and told if he didn't leave the town of his own accord by midday next he would be expelled "per drabanos [dragoons?]."⁷⁶ Scandal of a somewhat different stripe threatened the community in 1658 in the case of a youth in the "logica" class who became entangled with an "infami muliercula" (the choice of terminology here could imply a servant girl or something more pejorative, such as "bimbo") and who was sent to the judge, who had him placed in chains. As in the case of the homicidal student, the Jesuits asked that this youth be judged by Church authorities, and he was eventually returned to the Jesuit community.⁷⁷ Very rarely a former student might pass even farther outside the bounds of decency, although the Košice community seems to have been spared the experience of such a transgression. In Turóc during the troubled year 1710 the former student Franciscus Feérvary was ill-famed as an infamous thief.⁷⁸ Having spent some years in the company of Petrus Paluggay, who had been expelled from the Trenčín novitiate and from the Society "infelicitier," ("on bad terms") Feérvary was now "pillaging our town."⁷⁹

Other transgressive acts committed by members of the community are harder to assess, expressed as they frequently are in an obscure fashion. A note of a play produced in 1725 in Uzhhorod dealing with the martyred brothers Pergentius and Laurentius is immediately followed with "Fuit unus ex Juventute, qui programme publicè affixo infamis e porta pependit."⁸⁰ (There was one of the boys who hung from the gate with a scandalously written program visible to all.) If the "programma" mentioned refers to the play, the incident may be that of a high spirited youth swinging above a doorway after the play was advertised and a crowd had gathered, thereby scandalizing the community. The word "infamis" however implies something much more serious than a teenaged prank, and may mask a more serious violation which

⁷⁶ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.* 22 December 1693, Ms. II/1, Ab 86/2, fol. 21r, ELTEK; *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 120r, AMK.

⁷⁷ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1658, *Austria* 142, fol. 38v, ARSI.

⁷⁸ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis ab 1704*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 158v, ELTEK.

⁷⁹ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis ab 1704*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 158r. Yet Paluggay does not appear among the names of "dimissi" in Lukács, *Catalogi*.

⁸⁰ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 43r, JLB.

cannot be identified. Or the Jesuit writer may have been weak in Latin grammar, and merely meant to say that the youth posted a scandalous message from the gate—a real possibility. In any case, we cannot know how many breaches of decorum, if any, were simply left out the official record, although considering what the Society's historians were willing to mention, this number may be small.

Jesuit brothers or, on other occasions, servants sometimes were a source of *scandalum* or difficulty, the details of which might be kept deliberately opaque, even in records not intended to be forwarded to higher ups. In October of 1702 Georgius Harman, a cook and Adam Prandt, a “cellarius,” and both *coadjutores temporales* in Košice, confessed themselves to be guilty of an unnamed indiscretion and after receiving five strokes of a lash were soon banished. Harman is next heard of in the Jesuit *residentia* in Buda, and Prandt in Trnava, although all traces of both men soon vanish.⁸¹ The previous year, the “Bidellus” was reprimanded for failing to call students to class at eight in the morning.⁸² The composer of the *Catalogus Studiosorum* for 1743 also saw fit to note that one Joannes Nemessany was “mente motus,” although it was not recorded that this troubled member of the *physicus* class was either dismissed or treated.⁸³ The case of Paulus Kalmanczai is unusual: a Jesuit for 11 years, Kalmanczai was “dismissus ex Theologica” in Trnava in 1701, but earlier had taught the Poësis class in Košice and published *Flores verni e sanctiori tricollis Hungariae viridario* in 1699 in Levoča.⁸⁴ Lastly, another internal scandal is only hinted at when in 1756 four “candidati Theologiae,” all of whom were already “Reverendi Domini” but not apparently Jesuits, were dismissed from the university.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.* 12 October 1702, MS II/1, Ab 86/2, fol. 259v, ELTEK; Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi VI*, 168:196. The moral character of *coadjutores temporales* was continually scrutinized by Jesuit higher ups. The neglect of religious discipline could be grounds for dismissal. See letter to Adam Boëdt, 11 June 1672, fol. 657, *Austria 8 I*, ARSI. The silence regarding the nature of Prandt and Harman's transgression, and the fact that they were simultaneously guilty of it, points to a sexual, rather than strictly religious failing.

⁸² *Diarium Coll. Cassov.* 20 May 1701, MS II/1, Ab 86/2, fol. 205r, ELTEK.

⁸³ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 139r, AMK.

⁸⁴ Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 30; RMK II, 1960.

⁸⁵ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 152r, AMK.

Each of these instances was a significant enough disruption to merit mention in the official record, although each case might instead have been passed over in silence. None is exceptional for an institution of the size of the Košice university, but each posed the threat of *scandalum* that could damage the effectiveness of the entire Jesuit mission in the region. Since this school also trained Minorites, Franciscans and Paulists, the risk of *scandalum* had additional implications for the Society's reputation among religious orders that were sometimes its rivals.⁸⁶ The attention paid to these transgressions by at least some of the civil authorities likewise points to the potential fragility of the Society's position in the town despite its very powerful supporters. Internal crises and scandals moreover posed the greatest challenges to the Jesuit imperative to create a triumphalist and edifying narrative. This was because they might seem to suggest a failure of the *Constitutions* of the Society and of the educational program of the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 to inculcate the proper morals in students, but even more importantly since these crises raised the possibility of one of the two great preoccupations of seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuits. These were *scandalum* and *pax cum externis*;⁸⁷ the latter could be cultivated through longstanding contacts and negotiations that might calm even adversaries, but the former, as we have seen, might strike unexpectedly, and from within, furnishing fuel for the Society's enemies, weakening morale, and damaging recruitment efforts. Overlapping with *scandalum* but possessing its own characteristics was another Jesuit worry, *calumnia*: lies and ridicule spread by the Society's enemies.⁸⁸ The term implies crafty misrepresentation of the facts, in which the

⁸⁶ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, AMK.

⁸⁷ Letter of Vitus Sachta, S. I., Olomouc, 10 July 1606. *Historia Soc.* 137, fol. 182r, ARSI.

⁸⁸ In 1706, the chronicler of the Košice *collegium* recorded, "... Zingari regni calumniosi vocitati, ac ab ipsis mendicis, cantu stipem corrogantibus per vico', et oppida tales decantant... minus argumentis, aut prece rem nostram in publico agere sinebamus." (The Gypsies of the kingdom are considered great liars, and go begging from village to village and from town to town singing for alms, ... and we were allowed to make our case, less by argument than by pleading.) *Annuae Collegii Cassoviensis Soc. Jesus A. 1706*, Ms. I, Ab 68 I-II/6, fol. 6r, ELTEK. At issue seems to be resentment among the general population regarding processions and other public performances.

blame falls entirely outside the Society, but Jesuit records reveal how much attention was paid to these falsehoods. Working in Turkish Hungary in 1621, Joannes Cernich described “the countryside and towns overflowing with calumnies” that impeded the Society’s missionary efforts.⁸⁹ Three decades later in Transylvania, the charity undertaken by the Society in neighboring Turkish Moldavia was defamed: “... homo impertinens ... scabiosas valde furore plenas scripsit literas, exprobandis nobis exiguam charitatem ... minitansque se acturum cum suo archiepiscopo, ut nostri e Moldavia emoveantur...” (A person with no respect ... wrote letters filled with vile things, slandering our paltry works of charity, and threatening to work in tandem with his archbishop, to have Ours expelled from Moldavia...) ⁹⁰ These tales could reach the extremity of titillating horror. Stories circulated of a Ruthenian princess converted by Jesuits who was persuaded to exhume her father’s body so that he could be posthumously baptized in the Latin rite.⁹¹ *Calumnia* might be spread by enemies of public order, such as rebels, by rival Catholic orders (most notably the Franciscans), or in rare cases, by Jesuits themselves. Brother Nicolaus Székely (1638–1689), fell into the hands of the kuruc “a quibus gravissimis contumelijs, calumnijs, & convitijs oneratus crudelissimè fustibus à planta pedis usque ad verticem ita vapulavit.”⁹² (Showering him with insults, slanders, and bawling, thus they labored him with the blows of clubs, from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head.) *Scandalum* created by the actions of an individual Jesuit might be the seed of trouble that led to *calumnia*; the actual misdeeds of a single man could be exaggerated or generalized beyond a single case or the details of several incidents combined

Most remarkable is the inclusion of Roma among those accused of spreading lies about the Society.

⁸⁹ Joannes Cernechi to Muzio Vitelleschi, *Quinqueecclesiae*, 15 June 1621, *Austria* 20, fol. 171r, ARSI.

⁹⁰ *Austria* 20, fols. 361–371, ARSI, cited in Benda, ed., *Moldvai Csángó-Magyar Okmánytár*, ii, 480.

⁹¹ Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 348.

⁹² *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 526, ELTEK. His obituary reports that Székely, who worked as a *cellarius*, *emptor* (buyer) and *dispensator* in Levoča, Košice and Trenčín, “dolores sentiret” (felt sorrows), an unusual echo of the Sorrows of the Virgin.

to make a more salacious story.⁹³ More than half a century later, Father Joannes Simonides, who would soon suffer martyrdom in Upper Hungary at the age of 44, was the victim of “varijs calumniis et insidijs” (“plots”).⁹⁴ The remedy (it was hoped) both for *scandalum* and for accompanying *calumnia* was modesty in public,⁹⁵ accompanied by a measured and well argued rebuttal of the charges. When charges of, for example, sexual misconduct were substantiated, the Roman Curia was prepared take steps against the offender, and Curia records contain surprisingly candid reports of the charges made against Jesuits.⁹⁶ Despite administrative strategizing, the problem of *scandalum* however never seemed to go away, and new calumnies seemed to spring up whenever Jesuits began to labor in another district.

Returning to the students of the Košice school, the case of Antonius Lerman, the secular priest who died nursing plague victims, probably during the last terrible year of plague of 1739, reveals another dimension to the Jesuit understanding of adversity and tragedy. The entry recording Lerman’s death is also another piece of evidence of how Jesuits regarded success.⁹⁷ Even though Lerman was not *unus Nostrorum* or “one of Ours”, as the Society’s records described Jesuits, the decisions that he made leading to his death as a *victima charitatis* show that not only had the Society managed to convey its basic values to one of its *externi* students, but that this student had found the fortitude to carry out these values in life and in death. In his death on the southern frontier of the Austrian Province Lerner emulated countless Jesuits, priests and brothers who had also been *victimae charitatis*.⁹⁸

⁹³ For an analysis of the most influential of seventeenth century *calumnia*, see Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta*.

⁹⁴ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms I, Ab 147, fol. 13, ELTEK.

⁹⁵ A criticism of a Jesuit from 1606 reads “Minor satis habetur regulatum modestiae per domum et foris [*sic*].” (He fails to keep the rule of modesty at home and in public.) *Defectus singulatim indicate a PP cum remedii. Prov. Aust. 1606, Historia Soc. 137*, fol. 185v, ARSI.

⁹⁶ Markus Friedrich, “Government and Information-Management in Early Modern Europe,” 555–556.

⁹⁷ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 131v, AMK.

⁹⁸ The boundaries of this category of martyrdom are not always clear. Andreas Felker (1698–1757) died from some apparent exposure to the contaminated wound of a soldier, or from contact with his drinking vessel (?): “praeses

Lerner not only gave his life while for others, he also engaged directly with the physical manifestation of God's will, since for Counter-Reformation Jesuits the ultimate cause of diseases, especially the plague, was God.⁹⁹ Lerner's sacrifice also earned him mention in the chronicles of the Society, demonstrating once again how greatly Jesuits valued the transmission of their ethos to others outside their own communities. A very different path was pursued by Joannes Lintner, in the *Principista* class of 1724–1725. The *Catalogus* reports that he was “factus Chyrurgus ex syntaxi.”¹⁰⁰ In a similar fashion Joannes Lenkes, a *Grammatista* in 1731–1732, became a wagon driver; his classmate, Josephus de Stegner, became a soldier,¹⁰¹ while Joannes Pigay became an “artifex.”¹⁰² Finally, in July of 1740, a few months before the commencement of the War of the Austrian Succession, Andreas Cetto left the *Grammatista* class (one of the lower classes) to join the Imperial army as a drummer boy,¹⁰³ while another boy appears to have been fleeing soldiers who were seeking to press him back into military service.¹⁰⁴ For many students the Jesuit educational program was a “drop-in, drop-out” experience never intended to lead to higher studies, a fact that must have been readily apparent to the fathers as they taught, and which they ap-

ab infirmo milite hausto veneno victima charitatis cecidit.” Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 59.

⁹⁹ It should be noted that while this assertion can be made with certainty for the seventeenth century, it is at least possible that by the 1730s some Jesuits in Western Europe may have begun to move away from this absolutist position. For Jesuits of the Austrian Province, however, we may be quite certain that they saw all disease as God's doing. A variation on this theme occurs in the obituary notice of Franciscus Janesco, a scholastic in Košice who died in 1772, which states that “it pleased the Most Holy Mother [of God] to summon him to his reward.” *Annuae Collegii Cassoviensis Societatis Iesv*, 1735–1772, Ms. I, Ab 89, fol. 169r, ELTEK.

¹⁰⁰ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 96r, AMK.

¹⁰¹ *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 112v, AMK.

¹⁰² *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 166r, AMK.

¹⁰³ “factus... tympanotriba apud Wetés.” *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 134v, AMK. A few years before, Nicholas Podhorsky, a scholastic in the Uzhhorod community, “exchanged the Latin language for Mars, from whom he contracted an unexpected illness, and so was compelled to say farewell.” *Historia Collegii Vnghvariensis*, fol. 47r [1728] JLB.

¹⁰⁴ “M. Tomasovszki fugit ne militib. re[illegible].” *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fols. 96; 146v, AMK.

parently did not consider a symptom of failure of either their students or themselves. Jesuit teachers would have argued that the self discipline and morality gained in their schools benefited everyone, however far studies were pursued. At the same time *indifferentia* and the capacity to remain *immobilitate* (a term employed in Jesuit documents to imply internal immobility, as opposed to the radical geographical mobility of all Jesuits) also helped Jesuits cope with the sometimes frustrating lack of success of their schools, which might have nothing to do with the capacities of students.¹⁰⁵

With such a broadly conceived mission to “care for souls” in an academic setting, paralleling its efforts to impose a morality on the broader population, the Society was particularly vulnerable to the failures of its members. Errant former Jesuits could cause problems both for their former colleagues and for the Jesuit composing an account of their misdeeds. The story persisted of an unnamed, unhappy “deserter” from the Jesuits who was penning a letter to a Calvinist judge in Košice filled with *calumniae* against the Society when he suddenly dropped dead.¹⁰⁶ This tale was recorded by the well connected Jesuit Joannes Nádasí¹⁰⁷ to call attention to divine retribution against slanderers of the Society, but it was also a reminder of the damage slanderers could do to the Jesuit mission, especially since Jesuits themselves were sometimes accused of lying.¹⁰⁸ As the Society dealt with each of these misfortunes, trivial or less so, it was of importance that the memory of the local martyrs, who by contrast had exemplified virtue, not be

¹⁰⁵ One instance of many will illustrate the barriers to success Jesuit educators in Hungary often faced. In 1645, the Trnava University was struggling to recover from the ravages of war. The composer of the *Matricula* of the University noted “... it was very hard to begin the academic year. Peace is declared, but it is only the shadow of peace. We returned to the Muses, but the start of the school year had to be deferred until January.” Quoted in Mészáros, “A nagyszombati jezsuita gimnázium,” 105.

¹⁰⁶ Nádasí, *Tristes annuae desertorum*, 118. F2, fol. 266, PFK.

¹⁰⁷ Nádasí (1613/14–1679) had studied in Rome and was the confessor of the Dowager Empress Eleonora. Wix, *Régi magyarországi szerzők*, 562; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 239–242.

¹⁰⁸ The use of “mental reservation” was only one element of casuistry that raised questions about the truthfulness of statements made by Jesuits. Zagorin, *Ways of Lying*, 176–178.

lost. Indeed the number of Catholic martyr saints from the post-Tridentine period was never large, and those martyred in Europe were in particularly short supply. The few martyr saints that could be found were complemented, if not overwhelmed, in Jesuit enterprises by the Society's saints, such as Aloysius Gonzaga, Xavier, and of course Ignatius, whose lives, rather than their deaths, were held to be exemplary. Together this cluster of saints drew attention to Jesuit history, and perhaps less intentionally, to the much more recent time periods in which these men had lived.¹⁰⁹

The less cataclysmic but still significant type of misfortune might always, with Jesuit literary creativity, be incorporated into a narrative of persecution, jealousy and betrayal.¹¹⁰ Or, failing a human agent, at least into an instance where divine Providence came to the rescue.¹¹¹ But lesser conflicts among and difficulties for Jesuits had to be placed in a different category from the transformative sufferings of martyrs (Nádasi's manuscript, which also contained an account of a *coadjutor temporalis* coming to an ignoble end, described an ex-Jesuit flirting with alchemy, and, worse yet, a Jesuit who signed a pact with the Devil in

¹⁰⁹ Jeffrey Chipps Smith notes that these Jesuit saints had been "modern men living in a modern world, rather than remote personages residing in the distant past." The emphasis placed on these newer saints gave the understanding of Christian virtue a more immediate quality. Smith, "The Art of Salvation in Bavaria," 593. Typical of the means by which the Society promoted its new saints is a school drama from 1653 performed in Trenčín and a program of which has survived, *Honori illustrissimi ac reverendissimi Principis Georgii Lippay archiepsicopi Strigonensis...* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis per Jacobum Meyer, anno M.D.C.LIII), about the life of Xavier, who had lived only a little over a century before. In this instance the playwright, Stephanus Viszocsáni (–1662) was a "poëta" in the collegium, who later became a Jesuit and worked in many communities along the Habsburg periphery. Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 781.

¹¹⁰ Father Fridericus Mitzke (1680–1750), a Silesian born "missionarius apud Valachos (Romanian speakers)" experienced the "gnawing of the jealousy of many," a challenge sufficiently ennobling to earn mention in his obituary. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 1011.

¹¹¹ In Uzhhorod in 1770, the roof of a Jesuit building caught fire and the flames were extinguished by soldiers, but the historian of the *collegium* noted, "singulari Providentiae Divinae debemus." (We are indebted to Divine Providence.) *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 139v, JLB.

his own blood).¹¹² Non-lethal instances of less than satisfactory outcomes had the potential of ambiguous interpretation—were the would-be alchemist or the Jesuit who succumbed to worldly temptation and married, fundamentally bad men?¹¹³ And how to account for the case of Lucas Komenski, a Jesuit brother in Trnava, then only a short distance from the Ottoman frontier? Komenski spoke disrespectfully to other brothers (he called them “cobblers”) and to novices alike, and was dismissed from the Society. The errant former Jesuit was then rumored to have taken up with a deserter from the Franciscans, and while leading a vagabond’s life he was robbed of his money, his clothes, and his weapons, wounded in the head and left to die.¹¹⁴ Had these men been simply inappropriate candidates for the Society? How might their misdeeds or mistakes be cast as a warning to others to remain on the straight and narrow, and not be seen as a failure of the Society? How might such bad apples be weeded out earlier? Such questions remained preoccupations for the Jesuits of the Austrian Province, as they did for their brethren elsewhere, with the potential to muddy the picture of a heroic Society filled with men who sought virtue and danger.

Unlike the widely popular Jesuit school dramas inspired by the martyrs of Nagasaki or the life of St. Francis Xavier produced in places such as the Low Countries, renditions and recollections of danger or death generated in the Jesuit communities of the Habsburg ast did not need to be exotic or fantastical to compel interest from their audiences.¹¹⁵ Nor was there need to generate an invented tradition of Jesuit heroism or sacrifice to explain the mission of the relatively young Society in Royal Hungary.¹¹⁶ Authentic drama was easily found in public

¹¹² Delattre, *Inventaire analytique des archives de la Compagnie*.

¹¹³ Michael Kamuti, a Transylvanian noble, left the Jesuit novitiate in 1633 and married. In 1650 a thief broke into his house and stabbed him with a lance, killing him. Franciscus Nosnagus apostatised, and became a thief. He was then abducted by the Turks. Nádasí, *Tristes*, 118. F2, fols. 344–345; 347–348, PFK.

¹¹⁴ Nádasí, *Tristes*, 118.F2, fols. 330–331, PFK.

¹¹⁵ Proot and Verberckmoes, “*Japonica* in the Jesuit drama of the southern Netherlands.”

¹¹⁶ See Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. However the seventeenth century saw the growth of fanciful legends about the miraculous deeds of St. Ignatius.

penitential exercises, in the confessions of condemned criminals that Jesuits heard on the scaffold or in the survivals and rescues of Jesuit priests and brothers from the clutches of heretics. And in the reported fates of a few failed Jesuits or almost-Jesuits were enough dramatic incidents to provide clear examples of how not to conduct oneself. Again, Nádasí provides the details, this time of the fate of Georgius Miller, who seems a textbook case of how to go wrong. In Pozsony in 1655 to attend the coronation of Leopold I, Miller was present at a presumably wine-fueled conversation about the relative merits of Hungarians and Austrians (Miller was Austrian) which grew heated and degenerated into a brawl, whereupon Miller drew his sword and wounded several *famuli* or servants. However, as a swordsman, Miller was neither as fortunate nor as prudent as Father Baranyi, whom we have already met. Enraged Hungarian nobles pursued him, and although Miller found temporary refuge in a local aristocrat's house, he was soon back on the streets where his adversaries cornered and killed him. Eyewitnesses reported that Miller was not even able to cry out the words "Jesu Maria", the standard exit line of Catholic martyrs of the day.¹¹⁷

But many of the challenges the Society confronted in places such as Košice did not fit neatly into the plotlines of Christian virtue versus pagan (or heretical) tyranny, nor could they be resolved through a single dramatic act of self-sacrifice. Neither could they be readily turned into object lessons of what not to do. A case in point: in 1693 the bookbinders of Košice complained to the town council that Joannes Klein, the director of the Jesuit press, was unfairly competing with their own trade. The council ruled against the Jesuits.¹¹⁸ Jesuit missionaries traversing the landscape especially faced patterns of behavior that were not easily corrected and circumstances that required careful labeling. Rural missions originating from Košice in 1754 reported distressing conditions: women had abandoned their families and were wandering the countryside, peasants lacked knowledge of the most common prayers (a commonly reported problem throughout early modern Europe), and heretic communities remained that were ut-

¹¹⁷ Nádasí, *Tristes*, 118. F2, fols. 382–383, PFK.

¹¹⁸ Kemény, "Adalékok," 191.

terly hostile to Jesuits.¹¹⁹ The picture presented is one of instability and perhaps rootlessness.¹²⁰ Yet—and this is crucial to the narrative—in the end the solitary Jesuit missionary overcame each of these obstacles.¹²¹ The same year “horrida visu spectra” (specters of horrible appearance) infesting a nobleman’s house were driven off with the help of a picture of St. Ignatius.¹²² In addition to the strikingly late date of these two reports (more than a century after the first arrival of Jesuits in the district and two centuries after the commencement of the Society’s work in Hungary) what is most notable here is the nature of the challenge and the type of response recorded, as well as the way success in confronting these challenges is defined. While there remained some important differences in the nature of the Jesuit mission in town and in the countryside, the similarities were greater, and the theme of encounters with and victories over adversaries was a unifying thread in Jesuit narratives.

¹¹⁹ Curiously this and other rural missions were conducted within the context of the ruling by the Synod of Trnava, which in 1638 had forbade the celebration of Mass outdoors. Hermann, *A katolikus egyház története*, 250.

¹²⁰ It should be kept in mind that the populations with which Jesuits interacted were generally young. No statistics for the eastern Habsburg lands are available, but the following for Elbogen Circle, Bohemia in the late seventeenth century are suggestive:

Age 0–9	26%
10–19	20%
20–29	18%
30–39	14%
40–49	9%
50+	13%

¹²¹ *Annuae, Early Modern European Society*, 19–20.

Annuae Collegii Cassovienis Societatis Jesu anni 1754 Ms. I, Ab 68, I-II/6, fols. 4r; 5v (unnumbered), ELTEK.

¹²² *Annuae Collegii Cassovienis Societatis Jesu anni 1754*, Ms. I, Ab 68, I-II/6, fol. 3r, ELTEK.

III

“In Campos”

One must be barbarous with the barbarians and polished with civilized people.

*Louis Le Comte, SJ (1697)*¹

In the countryside, deviant behavior or ignorance was overcome by the presentation by a Jesuit of how to perform correct action reflecting orthodox belief, while in a more genteel setting the intruding specter was defeated through the action of the Jesuit priest with the help of the potent image of the Jesuit “Patriarch.”² In both cases, these successful actions were deliberate interventions in the physical world in opposition to ongoing deviations in that same world, the battle being joined in a concrete sense that recalled the struggle between the adherents of the “two standards” of Christ and Lucifer as described in the climatic passage of the *Spiritual Exercises*.³ In undertaking these interventions individual Jesuits working in the field also relied on their own “discernment” and acknowledged the validity of employing more than one approach.⁴ The demonic presence perceived by an exorcist parallels the

¹ Cited in Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric, and Proof*, 78.

² Ignatius was often referred to in Jesuit documents by this name, suggesting both the familial loyalty cultivated in the Baroque Society and the unique authority that had accrued to the Founder in the century following his death.

³ *Spiritual Exercises*, Fourth Day.

⁴ Father Gabriel Chinorany (1640–1695), who was active in the *Missio Liptoviensis* demonstrated an appreciation of the difference between ministering to the “rudior” (the less cultivated), who require basic explanation of Christian doctrine, and the tasks of winning over “Acatolicos” and confronting

vigorous reintroduction of the Devil, after an absence of several centuries, as a *dramatis persona* in Jesuit-sponsored religious theatre, a figure that had returned officially with Father Angelin Gazet (1568–1653) and his *Les Pieuses Recreations* (Paris, 1628) but had always remained part of the popular and nominally Catholic culture of the Habsburg East.⁵

The expulsion of a demon seems to be an intervention that Jesuits approached with especial relish. It was an undertaking for which the fathers felt they were well prepared, and which in the broadest sense could be integrated into the Society's larger vision of the progress of those estranged from Catholicism towards the True Faith.⁶ The removal of a demon meant the simultaneous defeat of the greater Power whom the demon served, and an advance of light and truth on the material plane. Since an exorcism most commonly took place in an intensely religious environment, the emotional climate that typically accompanied such a struggle was frequently intense, even if all of its cultural nuances were not always fully appreciated by a Jesuit outsider.⁷ Such missionary and pastoral work involved the personal investment of a priest trained in what Walter Ong has called the "agonistic" environment of Jesuit schooling, where academic competition took on the qualities of ritualized male combat.⁸ The gender of the Jesuit exorcist, and in particular, his clearly identifiable "virtus," was relevant at the moment that the exorcism was being carried out, as a passage from the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province for 1697 illustrates.⁹ As we have seen, women were the majority of the afflicted, but many demons were undeniably male. Jesuit encounters with demons can therefore be viewed as a kind of masculine single combat, with antecedents in

Protestant "pseudopraedicantes." *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms I, Ab 140, fol. 254, ELTEK.

⁵ Rolants and Vanysacker, "Tightrope walkers," 785.

⁶ This belief was grounded in patristic writings, particularly St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. Blair-Dixon, "Magic, Dreams, and Ritual," 50–52.

⁷ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 481.

⁸ Ong, *Fighting for Life*, 129–131.

⁹ "Sacerdotum virtutem exorcismorum in pluribus experti sunt idem operarij..." (Likewise preachers have demonstrated the *virtus* of priestly exorcists in many situations...) (*Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1697*, B. P. V. 12.093, fol. 43v, ÖNB).

both medieval Europe and the ancient world. Occasionally this combat might be favored with a noble audience, thereby adding to the quality of ritualized combat.¹⁰ And since the adversary of a Jesuit priest in a supernatural encounter was never the afflicted or sometimes ignorant victim of possession, but was an invisible entity, he had to be defeated on terms very different from those obtaining in a struggle between two human beings.¹¹ Moreover the Jesuit narrative of this ritual combat was of course written from the perspective of the human victor of this very real combat. Sometimes the reference to combat was more explicit, as in 1662 in Mănăştur where in the vigils of the night a "cacodaemon of terrible aspect" appeared to a soldier on duty: "nunquam tamen damnum ullum inferre poterat quod diceret daemon benedictum à milite annulum collo ferri, quem proinde abjiceret suadebat."¹² In other instances of disturbed behavior demonic possession is not explicitly stated, but the restitution of mental balance through the efforts of the Jesuits is, resulting in a similarly successful outcome. In Uzhhorod a woman who had either fallen, or more likely, cast herself into a well, was rescued and "sanae menti reddita" (restored to a healthy mind).¹³

For accounts of successful exorcisms to enhance the Society's larger narrative and to carry the Jesuit mission forward, two things were required. First, Jesuits who read the accounts needed to believe that such interventions were effective and that the agency that Jesuits employed did in fact function as the narrator understood it to. Jesuits doing the exorcising likewise needed to believe that those human beings with whom they engaged also believed in the efficacy of the intervention.

¹⁰ Leopold I acknowledged just such an encounter, although since it occurred before his birth it was his father, Ferdinand III or his grandfather Ferdinand II who must have witnessed it. Document dated 14 September 1691, cited in Katona, *Historia critica... Tomulus XVI. Ordine XXXV*, 726–727.

¹¹ The gap between the demon and its victim was highlighted in Cluj in 1650 where a "mulier Rhuthena ex Maramuarusio" was tormented by demons who spoke only Ruthenian (Rusyn), although normally the woman also spoke Hungarian. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1650, Austria 142*, fol. 244v, ARSI.

¹² Both the ring of iron (the metal of armor in which one can enter into combat for the Lord) and the beleaguered soldier are commonplaces in Jesuit accounts of struggles with demons. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1662, Austr. 142*, fol. 186r, ARSI.

¹³ *Historia Collegii Homona-Vnghvariensis*, fols. 79v–80v [1744] JLB.

Yet by the 1750s, the first requirement was no longer a small matter, for during the previous two decades a divergence had appeared across the Habsburg realms in the thinking of both elite ecclesiastical and social strata vis-à-vis the lower levels of each. Exorcisms and the employment of relics no longer enjoyed universal support, as evidenced by the resistance offered by the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy to the claims of Odo Koptik (1692–1755), a mystical Czech Benedictine.¹⁴ Gradually Enlightenment ideas were beginning to penetrate some segments of Habsburg society, new models of causality slowly were gaining acceptance, and God—or the Devil and his minions—were not as readily seen as the immediate cause of misfortune and illness. Hungary here exhibited a cultural time lag relative to Austria that was paralleled in its visual arts and drama, *inter alia*. In the previous century this process had already led to reluctance on the part of the educated Catholic clergy of Western Europe to diagnose the presence of witches, and a self-conscious effort to distance itself from popular belief in magic.¹⁵ Well-read Habsburg Jesuits were certainly aware of this trend, even if they did not always agree with it. Open skepticism doubtless was never as widespread anywhere in Hungary as in Bohemia, where a few nobles sparred openly with the Society over issues of religious faith, yet the serious embrace of rigorous, empirical science by such eighteenth-century Jesuits as Maximilianus Hell (1720–1792) and Rogerius Boskovich (1711–1787) shows that even among Jesuits of the Austrian Province, the understanding of causality had become more complex among even some of the most conspicuous intellectual supporters of Catholicism. Yet the final decades of the pre-Suppression Society also witnessed a widening gap between the structure of the investigations of a handful of first-rate Jesuit scientists and the evolution of folk beliefs in areas such as rural Hungary. The mid-eighteenth century saw a number of vampire cases reported in Hungary and Serbia, a phenomenon that overlapped with persisting reports of demonic possession and witchcraft.¹⁶ Jesuits working in the field, whatever their own understanding of the supernatural, had to deal with this reality.

¹⁴ Tüskés and Knapp, “A barokk és a felvilágosodás között,” 80.

¹⁵ Roelants and Vanysacker, “‘Tightrope walkers’,” 793.

¹⁶ Klaniczay, *Uses of Supernatural Power*, 182–183.

When we turn to the problem of how Jesuits understood the experience of laypersons with whom they interacted, the picture becomes even more complicated. The Jesuit parsing of local belief into forbidden "superstitio" and that which was theologically acceptable to Catholic orthodoxy inevitably cut across more holistic patterns of traditional thinking and practice. Laypersons of any social class might regard the employment of a sanctified picture to drive away a demon in exactly the same light as the use of an amulet that Jesuits would quickly consign to the flames. Occasionally Jesuit chroniclers would mix the ideas of illicit magical arts and sexual misconduct, as when the writer of the *Historia* of the Uzhhorod community recorded that in 1721 "Nostorum vigilantia libellus magicis artibus refertus contra vim armorum ereptus; sacrilegae consuetudines sublatae, virgines aliquot repudiatis amaziis [sic] in tuto collatae..." (The vigilance of Ours resulted in the seizure of books crammed with incantations to prevent harm from weapons, the suppression of sacriligious practices, and a number of young girls [probably not 'virgins'] gathered to safety, once they had repudiated their unseemly lovers...).¹⁷ Linguistic barriers and the varied ethnic origins of the participants added to this confusion. Many Hungarian-speaking Jesuits did not speak fluent Slovak or German, languages commonly found among peasants and burghers respectively, although Hungarian was widely understood among both groups. Along with linguistic challenges, ethnic antipathies could influence the encounter between Jesuit and layperson. Jesuits seeking the salvation of souls in the region around Košice had the backing of one of Europe's most important dynasties, but the House of Habsburg was in fact frequently broke and always vulnerable, constantly struggling to project a powerful presence in the lands it sought to subdue. The assertion of alleged dynastic power in the midst of vulnerability was in this instance, as in many others, expressed through the baroque aesthetic, which suffused the Jesuit program at all levels. Jesuit missionaries and exorcists were therefore attempting to speak with absolute authority on spiritual matters when their principle secular supporter was striving with varying success to establish legitimacy in a fundamentally hostile environment.

¹⁷ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 38v, JLB.

The connection between distant Habsburg and itinerant Jesuit cut several ways. Even peasants inclined to embrace Catholicism had no reason to love the House of Austria, or to be persuaded of its just and ultimate victory over its adversaries, some of whom, like the Rákóczis, inspired deeply held local loyalty (the Ruthenians were dubbed by Francis II Rákóczi as the “gens fidelissima” (most faithful people)). At the same time those not persuaded to embrace Catholicism, when confronted by an insistent Jesuit backed by the military power of the dynasty, might well feign belief in an exorcism or simulate a change of heart. We must also allow for the possibility that the Jesuit recording a successful mission or exorcism was not entirely candid in his reporting, either because of unconscious self-deception or deliberate misrepresentation. Jesuit records likewise betray a tendency to group a wide range of experiences into rigid, predetermined and sometimes quantitatively defined categories that answered to the objectives of the mission—so many thousand times that communion was offered, or the number of boys of noble birth enrolled in a *gymnasium*.¹⁸ In short, Jesuit reporting of miraculous doings or of solid gains in devotional practice tells us almost nothing reliable about the transaction from the point of view of the other party. What these documents do convey is a sense of the compelling forces, institutional and individual, behind the composition of both Jesuit reports and obituaries, and of more publicly circulated documents. These records also shed an oblique light on the institutional culture of the Society, especially as it responded to stress and difficulty. The apparent uniformity of these accounts attests to the need not merely to describe success but also to bring the experiences of others into line with the perceptions and expectations of what was by the mid-eighteenth century a well established narrative pattern.

An additional influence on the composition of Jesuit narratives was the story of the Early Church. Accounts of missions drew self-consciously on sacred biography and history, with the ultimate points of reference being both Christ’s ministry as reported in the Gospels and the Acts of

¹⁸ *Litterae annuae* proudly reported the distribution of the consecrated Host to tens of thousands of persons, even in districts where Catholicism was not deeply rooted.

the Apostles, as well as other points in the early history of the Church.¹⁹ The sincerely held humility of many Jesuits was thus tinted with uninhibited emulation for the most revered figures of Christianity, a combination which infuriated the Society's opponents and heightened the emotional tone of life in a Jesuit community, where men had gathered to be part of the "Society of Jesus" rather than to become members of an order named for a Benedict or Dominic. Becoming a Jesuit brought with it the heady realization that one was participating in the Divine plan for the salvation of the world, the proof of which seemed to be accumulating on all sides. In addition, just as the rise of monasticism at the end of the Classical period had been propelled partly by the end of public martyrdom as a feasible goal for devout Christians, the non- or even anti-monastic culture of the Society created a climate in which martyrdom became once more a plausible and attractive possibility.²⁰

The portrayal of challenge and triumph in the narrative of the Society might take forms other than written history: debates between Jesuits or between Jesuits and their students served as a platform for demonstrating Jesuit skill and conviction, as well as a means of maintaining connections between far flung Jesuit communities. Jesuits also engaged with non-Catholics, but unfortunately not much is known about many of these more *ad hoc* encounters—although popular tales of the countryman who challenged or outwitted the black robed priest are suggestive of the tone of some of these debates. But undoubtedly the missionary fathers exerted themselves to establish equivalencies and to make linkages through metaphor and similarity. The Ottoman controlled city of Pécs in southern Hungary was the scene of an encounter in 1653 between Jesuits and Muslims in which Christ was described by a father as "Becambor," which may be a corruption of the Turkish word for messenger or prophet, "peygamber."²¹ The

¹⁹ Reff, *Plagues, Priests, and Demons*, 231–234. For the impact of this comparison on accounts of interactions between missionaries and non-Christians see Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 151. One of the earliest narratives of Jesuit missions, composed while some of the first Jesuits were still living, recounted events that paralleled those in *Acts* and even featured the occasional villain. Rodrigues, *A Brief and Exact Account*.

²⁰ Russell, "The Early Church," 342.

²¹ "Becambor, id est Christum." *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1653, Austria 141*, fol. 91r, ARSI. Thanks to Hayrettin Yucesoy and Frank Schaer for assistance

conversion of a Jew in Košice is reported in 1772, but such occurrences remained rare.²² In 1666 Košice was the site of a debate between Gabriel Ivul and a former Calvinist named Stephanus Rényes, in which the Catholic position presumably triumphed.²³ Jesuits and non-Catholics also debated, if not in person, then through the written word; Father Matthias Sámbar (1617–1685) had in the 1660s what can only be called a running public feud with Joannes Fabritius, the rector of the town's Lutheran gymnasium, which resulted in a series of polemical publications on both sides.²⁴

Plays produced by the Society's schools offered not only didactic lessons on specific points of moral conduct but also the more general lesson of how despite the hardships encountered in life, Christians were on what Nicholas P. Cushner calls "a journey towards a more permanent homeland."²⁵ The oral culture of the Society, with its

here. The Jesuit in this encounter may have been Thomas Casparfi, attached to the Andocs missions. It is reported that Casparfi suffered mistreatment at the hands of the Ottomans. *Elogia Defunctorum XII*, Ms. I, Ab 148, fol. 41v, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, III, 676.

²² *Annuae Coll. Cassov.*, Ms. II/I, Ab 89, fol. 168r, ELTEK.

²³ *Historica Relatio colloquii Cassoviensis de Iudice controversiarum fidei praeside R. P. Soc. Iesus SS. Theo. ac Phil. Doctore ... respondente Nobili Stephano Rényes Varadiensi ... ex Convictu Nobilium ... anno MDCLXVI*. No place of publication ("Christianopolis") but possibly Cluj, 1679. Reported in Veress, *Bibliografia Română-Ungară*, i, 118–119. Ivul, born in 1619 in Caransebeș, entered the Society in Košice in 1638 and after attaining a doctorate in philosophy returned to Košice where he taught for many years, dying there in 1678. Among Ivul's works published in Košice was *Philosophia Novella* (1669). Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 695; Stroeger, *Scriptores*, 157.

²⁴ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 501–502. Legends persisted about other confrontations undertaken by Sámbar, the most sensational of which was that he had lost a debate with a Protestant preacher and so had two teeth extracted as punishment. In this instance the desire to imagine the fearsome father as a toothless threat, rather than any Jesuit propensity for martyrdom, was probably the origin of the story. The story of the tooth extraction was doubted as long ago as the eighteenth century but has survived because of the vivid image of the Society's humiliation it provided to opponents of the Jesuits—and also perhaps because it fit a broader and more positive perception of Jesuit willingness to undergo physical suffering. Bretz, "Bod Péter fordította," 345.

²⁵ Cushner, *Why*, 148.

innumerable remembered, reworked and repeated anecdotes often recorded in obituaries, provided more examples of triumph over adversity. Father Nicholas Nemezány (c. 1625–1679), who worked in many communities in Royal Hungary including Košice, was confronted by thieves whom he won over with humor ("per jocum compellasset") and who then asked him who there was that might pray for evildoers.²⁶ Stephanus Rényes (1643–1699), whom we have just met as a debater, in the course of a career as a Jesuit that earned him the sobriquet "the Hungarian Cicero" taught in Trnava, Košice, and at the Pazmaneum in Vienna, where clergy were trained for work in Hungary. Rényes was also taken prisoner by Thököly's troops and imprisoned in the fortress of Muráň from which he was eventually released to continue his work as a preacher and administrator. His story thus was remembered as one of triumph over adversity.²⁷

Moral lessons of another sort might also be extracted from oral traditions of the Jesuit *residentiae* that found their way into obituaries. Brother Adamus Prände (1672–1711) who had served in Trnava, Trenčín, and Košice, found himself working in a garden, where he was tempted by "quaedam mulier, quae Adamum nostrum ... multoties verbis allicere, ac idem familiaritatem suam offere non erubuerat" (a certain woman, who did not blush to entice Our Adam repeatedly with her words, and to offer him at the same time intimacy with her). The superior of the endangered *coadjutor temporalis* rescued him from what was perceived as "periculum," and the anecdote entered the culture of the Society.²⁸ The pairing of Biblical and contemporaneous details ("Adam," a garden, a female temptress using language to seduce, and even a powerful "superior" who intervenes) as well as the equating of a threatened seduction with the "periculum" posed by warfare, bandits or bloodthirsty heretics is indicative of how the Society understood its mission as reflecting and reprising the very themes it taught in the classroom and portrayed on the stage. The route by which this story reached the writer of Prände's obituary cannot be known with certainty, but since the seal of confession would not have broken the

²⁶ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fol. 35, ELTEK.

²⁷ *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fol. 96, ELTEK; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 298.

²⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Kap. A, Tomus V, fol. 8, ELTEK.

ultimate sources of this anecdote must have been either Prände or his superior. Whoever gave this version of a “temptation in the Garden” its final form, the story says more about the moral culture of the Society than about Prände, whose own moral strength in fact is not stressed! As with other reports of Jesuit moral strength vis-à-vis a woman, the woman herself fades from the narrative; we never learn what happened to her, nor do we need to, since what is on display is the lesson of the virtue cultivated by the Society.²⁹ The fortitude of Jesuit brother Laurentius Petrisch (a member of the Austrian Province, but not one who labored in the east), is described in his obituary in Classical rather than biblical terms. Petrisch, who switched from academic studies to service as a *coadjutor temporalis*, was tempted by women described as “Sirens” but remained a steadfast “Ulysses” in the face of their allures.³⁰ Antonius Templmann (1657–1697), a native of Bohemia active in mission work around Sibiu, went Petrich and Prände one better: not only did he resist the blandishments “de nobilissima familia tentatricis incredulae” (of an unbeliever from a most noble family), but also demonstrated temperance when dining with Imperial officials, and “quae virtus ea in regione tantò est rarior, quantò frequentior copia vini nobilioris” (which virtue in this region becomes all the rarer, as the abundance of finer wines increases.)³¹

Self-discipline of the sort demonstrated by Petrisch both addressed the anxiety over *scandalum* and provided a model for Jesuits who found themselves in delicate situations with women, apparently a common problem throughout the Austrian Province. Father Ferdinandus Marck (1646–1697), who had taught the lower classes in Győr *collegium*, suffered from temptations that might have included a strong attraction for the opposite sex, although the text of his obituary seems deliberately vague. Marck was able to extinguish “irritamenta carnis ... et ecce subito cunctae disparuere larvae Veneris et infesta spiritui incendia.” (the itching of the flesh ... and behold, suddenly the phantoms

²⁹ In Cluj, a woman’s moral turpitude served as the catalyst for a declamation by a Jesuit on good and evil that nonetheless leaves the woman’s fate uncertain. Shore, “*Fragmentum*,” 90–91.

³⁰ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 320, ELTEK.

³¹ *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fols. 410–411, ELTEK.

of Venus and torments to the spirit vanished).³² As we shall see, the experience of purging oneself of these "irritamenta" would play a role in the production of Jesuit public performances and was a characteristic feature of the interior life of many in the pre-Suppression Society. It is not recorded whether Joannes Baptista Demian (–1694) had need to purge himself of similar "irritamenta" before he reached a state of "angelic purity" which guided him, not only to avoid looking at a woman in the eye, but even to eschew gazing on a woman's face "obliquè."³³

An anonymous woman also figures, but in a far different fashion, in a story about Brother Joannes Talk (1655–1698) who was in Košice when Thököly's army besieged the town. Talk, according to his obituary, was implored by Thököly himself to discard his habit (we think of the popular theme in baroque painting of Potiphar's wife tearing Joseph's garment off his body as he fled) and to take "ein edlische Jungfrau aus dem Thököliansichen Frauenzimmer" as a wife, but the Jesuit refused.³⁴ The trope of the virtuous *coadjutor temporalis* and inappropriate contact with an unnamed noblewoman appears repeatedly with variations in Jesuit records, but in this case the implication seems to be that the unfortunate young woman was of Catholic birth and had been forced into prostitution by the vicious Protestant magnate.³⁵ Thököly himself, who would ultimately be converted by the Jesuits to Catholicism, replaces the familiar role of capricious tyrant reprised in many Jesuit plays, while Brother Joannes, by refusing his depraved offer,

³² *Elogia Defunctorum XII*, Ms. I, Ab 148, fol. 28, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, IV, 607. Awareness of one's sexual weaknesses was an important element of the spiritual tools of the baroque Jesuit—and also a constant source of torment. Destined for the Antilles, French Jesuit Bernard Layrac, reflecting on the naked women he felt sure he would soon see, wrote "meum videlicet salacitas vitium est, et lubrica fuit adolescentia" (my vice was lust, and my adolescence unchastely slick). Pizzorusso, "Le choix indifférent," 886.

³³ *Elogia Defunctorum I*, Ms. I, Ab 137, fol. 446, ELTEK.

³⁴ *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, fol. 142, ELTEK.

³⁵ The redemption of prostitutes is, as might be expected, a recurrent theme in contemporaneous Jesuit documents. Thus in Alba Iulia: "... complures ad meliorem reducti vitam, inter hos nominata et prostituta persona, quae nefario quaestu victitabat diutius..." (... very many were returned to a better life, among them the prostitute we have mentioned, who had been supporting herself in this abominable way for a very long time...). *Annuae Residentiae Albensis Soc'is Jesu 1713*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 1r, BB.

demonstrates yet another facet of Jesuit virtue, which is once again on exhibit before the mighty. Brother Jacob Urbanovicz (1650–1701) faced similar dangers: “se adhucdum in seculo degentem à nobilibus alterius sexûs personis in castitate valde tentatum cum magnis nefariis promisis fortissimè restitit atque in fuga integritatem salvavit... imo Palmam Joseph retulit” (he was watched as he went about his business by a noble person of the opposite sex, and with great strength he retained his chastity in the face of her unchaste offers, and saved himself through flight... he gained the palm of Joseph).³⁶ The connection to the tale of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife, this time made explicitly, sends a message that Jesuits are capable of resisting the blandishments of even (or even especially) the nobly born.

Before we leave the company of Jesuit brothers who managed to avoid fleshly temptation, let us turn briefly to Brother Hilarius Miechoviz (1664–1701), who served in Košice, Trenčín, Trnava, and Spiš. This Polish *coadjutor temporalis*, like many others, had followed the profession of soldier before entering the Society, during which time he had so abhorred contact with women that he never spoke to one.³⁷ In some instances, therefore, a dislike of or discomfort around women acquired before Jesuit formation was added to the complex view of women already held in the Society—one in which women might be the objects of Christian charity, the patrons of Jesuit undertakings, or creatures of such doubtful morality that complete avoidance of them is presented as a virtue, whether or not the attitude of the soldier Miechoviz is being accurately reported. This virtue was also the goal and the possession of Jesuit priests. Stephanus Keresztes (1601–1666) rector of the Trnava university, while preaching, caught sight of a “syrenem quampiam... blandientem.” Pushing aside the wanton woman with his hands, and supported by his conscience, the professor proclaimed

³⁶ *Elogia Defunctorum VI*, Ms. I, Ab 142, fol. 423, ELTEK. A history text intended for the intermediate classes at a Jesuit school had this to say about Potiphar’s wife: “Foemina jam vindicta quam nuper libidine flagrantior accusat innocentem...” (A woman, now more inflamed with desire for revenge than previously with lust, accused the innocent man...) Wagner, *Introductio in Universalem Historiam*, 18–19.

³⁷ “...nunquam sibi foeminam loqui passus sit.” *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 169, ELTEK.

"Virgo sum... labis impatiens, apage cum impuris his manibus!" (I am a virgin, be gone with you, you disgraceful thing, you who cannot control yourself, away with your hands!)³⁸ Declarations of virginity are rare among the biographical records of the Society, but the employment of a nameless female in a supporting role is a familiar feature of Jesuit moral drama.

The Jesuit narrative contains many "others" against whom the work and life of the Society had to be defined. The depth of hostility expressed towards Protestants in seventeenth century Jesuit writings compels us to revisit our understanding of allegiances in a Hungary struggling to emerge from Ottoman control. In particular the demonization of Lutherans in stories such as that of Joannes Talk is at odds with what Ágnes Várkonyi calls "the Christian solidarity beginning to take hold in a Europe preparing for war against the Turks." This solidarity reached its fullest development during the war of 1683–1699, but, she argues, "some of its elements appeared as early as the 1650s"³⁹—yet there is no evidence for this change of mood in the records of the Austrian Province. Part of the reason for the lack of Jesuit solidarity with, say, Calvinists, stemmed from the cultivation of the memory of such cruelties as were visited on the martyrs of Košice. Beyond this, there was a necessity for Jesuits to see themselves as Christian martyrs possessing a unique pedigree and as heirs to a venerable tradition of martyrdom then being elaborated upon in many Jesuit publications.⁴⁰ Added to this remote pedigree was the connection between the Society and martyrs from the more recent Catholic (but not

³⁸ Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 286.

³⁹ Várkonyi, "The Principatus Transylvaniae and the Genesis of the Anti-Turkish Alliance," 597. Beyond the public actions of political leaders, documenting this solidarity among Christians of various confessions is extremely difficult.

⁴⁰ Matthias Tanner borrowed and slightly modified a line from Tertillian (C. E. 160–225): "Sanguis martyrorum semen ecclesiae" (The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church) for an engraving depicting the "garden of Christians" being watered by the blood of martyrs. Tanner, Matthias, *Societas Jesu*, 207. The lives of early saints were compiled in the mammoth *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, the first volumes of which were published in Antwerp in 1643.

necessarily Jesuit) history of Hungary.⁴¹ Sharing this role with Calvinists, some of which had died at the hands of the Habsburgs, was clearly impossible for Jesuits. Moreover the Jesuits of the Habsburg East were estranged in a particularly deep way from the austere spirituality of Calvinism and were especially offended by the desecration of images of the Virgin by Protestants of all stripes. By contrast, while Islam was regarded as a false religion, the universalist approach of the Society never shut out the possibility of contact with even high ranking Ottomans, who in fact had seldom persecuted Jesuits.⁴² In Transylvania, half a century after the Principality passed under Habsburg control, Jesuit priests were still seeking out Muslim Turks, and occasionally converted one on his deathbed.⁴³ A few Turkish manuscripts even ended up in Hungarian Jesuit libraries.⁴⁴ A Jesuit, Jean-Baptiste Holderman (1694–1730), had even assisted in setting up a printing press in Constantinople that produced the first French language grammar of Turkish.⁴⁵ By comparison, Jesuits were generally not welcome at the courts

⁴¹ The Blessed Sadoch, O. P., for example, martyred by Mongols in 1260, was included by Hevenesi in *Ungaricae Sanctitatis Indicia*, 88–89.

⁴² In 1717 the Jesuit press in Trnava published a work by Christophorus Peichich, *Mahometanus dogmaticae, et catechetice in lege Christi alcorano suffragante, instructus* (Tyrvniae: per Fridericum Gall, 1717). Thanks to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for making a complete copy of this volume available. Peichich (–1716) has been sometimes identified as a Jesuit, but was a Bulgarian-born canon in Pécs and abbot of the monastery of St. George, Csanád. Yet the production of this volume by a Jesuit press suggests how the Society conceived of an approach to Muslims. Šafárik, *Geschichte*, 52. See also Šimalčík, “Dogmatická veda,” 141.

⁴³ A somewhat obscure passage from Alba Iulia reads “Devenerat illa Kanischam [?] quam Turiciam appellant”; the convert, who may have been a Muslim, receives the Viaticum, although the meaning of the passage is complicated by the existence of a town in the Vojvodina, which was not under Ottoman rule at the time, called Kanischa. Thanks to Hayrettin Yucesoy for assistance here. *Annuae Residentia Alba Iuliensis anno 1740*, Szentiványi 323, fols. 35r–35v, BB.

⁴⁴ A “turcicus libellus manuscriptus” dated 1690 was among the books in the Jesuit library in Trnava. Farkas et al., *Magyarországi Jezsuita Könyvtárak 1773-ig I. Nagyszombat 1632–1690*, 343.

⁴⁵ Watson, “İbrāhim Müteferrika,” 435–441; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vi, 431–432. Thanks to John W. Padberg, SJ for assistance with this reference.

of the Calvinist Grand Princes of Transylvania,⁴⁶ and one father is said to have returned the compliment by writing scurrilous verses about the wife of the Grand Prince.⁴⁷ Well into the eighteenth century Calvinists, in part because of their explicit rejection of the multi-sensory and "ludic" expression of religious experience appreciated by the Jesuits, remained the supreme villains in the Society's narrative of its work in the Habsburg east.⁴⁸

Other Jesuits of Košice traveled much further afield and underwent far more severe tests than sexual temptation, and the Jesuits of Upper Hungary were never allowed to forget that their brethren labored on other, distant frontiers. David Fáy (1721–1767), in the *minores* class in 1729–1730, at the start of his career published poetry praising the future Emperor Joseph II. Fay then "petit Indias" (i.e., "sought the Indies," a fact noted in the records of the Košice university) and arrived in Brazil, where he eventually served as a peacemaker between the Amanayé and Guajara peoples. Regarded as a meddling nuisance by the passionately anti-Jesuit Marquis de Pombal, Fay was accused of *lesé-majesté*, deported to Portugal and imprisoned there after the Society was expelled from Portuguese overseas colonies in 1759.⁴⁹ The priest died in squalid conditions in Lisbon, thereby adding to the

⁴⁶ A notable early exception had been the court of Gabriel Bethlen, Prince from 1613 to 1629, who although a Calvinist nevertheless had supported Georgius Káldi (1572–1634) in his translation of the Bible and welcomed the Jesuit professor Laurentius Kintoff to his wedding to Katharine of Brandenburg. *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve*, 359. Yet Bethlen's troops also harassed the Jesuit university in Trnava during their sweep westward. Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 55–56; 273.

⁴⁷ Circa 1643 a vulgar verse appeared, playing on the first syllable of the family name (ló=horse) of Susanna Lórantffy, wife of George I Rákóczi; the reputed author was the Jesuit Kaspar Raiki. Engel, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs*, iv 499. Raiki (1603–1648) was active in Cluj-Mănăştur from 1636 until 1643. Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 719.

⁴⁸ Writing about pre-Reformation England, Eamon Duffy places emphasis on the "ludic dimensions of lay culture" which formed an important part of religious practice and especially, experience in the late Middle Ages. These dimensions can be perceived in the popular culture in which the Baroque Society operated. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 22.

⁴⁹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 78; *Catalogus Studiosorum*, 216, fol. 108r, AMK; Ms. I, Ab 68 I-II/25, fol. 1r (unnumbered), ELTEK; Franco, "Os Catecismos," 250.

list of Jesuits from the Hungarian mountains who served and sacrificed in the missions of the New World. Sometimes Jesuits returned to Hungary from long journeys: Michael Tannyi, a priest who had traveled to Rome to receive training at the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum* and at St. Apollinaris, died in Košice, perhaps of the plague, in 1651.⁵⁰ Franciscus Berzeviczi (1679–1717), born in Mukacheve, was destined for the Indies but only got as far as Coimbra, when he then was sent homewards. He taught mathematics in Trnava and philosophy in Košice, where he died.⁵¹ Ladislaus Oros, born in a village near Košice and probably trained at the Jesuit *collegium* there, spent four decades in the Paraguayan reductions and returned to Trnava, where he died in 1773.⁵² Another Jesuit who trained in Košice, Franciscus Weber (1721–1750) met a tragic fate of another sort: en route to the Mexican missions, he fell ill and died.⁵³

Of course not everything that Jesuits did was viewed appreciatively by those around them, and well into the eighteenth century Košice remained one of the communities most hostile to the Society. In 1671, the library of the Cathedral of St. Elizabeth possessed a book apparently intended to build solidarity in opposition to the Society.⁵⁴ When the Jesuits were expelled in 1674 during the Thököly uprising, in the wake of a petition that had called for their removal, they were escorted out of town by 150 soldiers, a not-so-subtle message that they were not to return.⁵⁵ When the Jesuits did return a few years later, they continued to provoke animosity among the burghers. Joannes Kossachovits, who was active in Košice between 1746 and 1749, was formally accused by two Protestant burghers of Košice of pressuring a dying widow to

⁵⁰ *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.I.*, 49.

⁵¹ Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 28; Alexander Szörényi, *Pannonia Docta*, Kap. Kéz. B. XLIX, fol. 177, ELTEK.

⁵² Krapka and Mikula, *Dejiny*, 225. Oros is portrayed, incorrectly, as a former Austrian army officer in Fritz Höchwälder's play "Das heilige Experiment."

⁵³ Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko*, 335.

⁵⁴ *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562–1731*, 105. The title of the book as reported in this work has been corrupted: *Vidicer [sic] pro libro Concordiam contra Jesuitas*. This volume has not been identified.

⁵⁵ Krones, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns*, 94.

convert, and of using the same tactics on others as well.⁵⁶ The charge was a familiar one, echoing those made more than a century earlier in the *Monita Secreta* and other anti-Jesuit screeds. Jesuits had often been branded as smooth talking legacy hunters who preyed on widows and unhappily married women.⁵⁷ That this same charge could be leveled in the mid-eighteenth century in a town that was probably already well over 50% Catholic and in a land where the civil advantages of Catholic subjects were enshrined by royal decree illustrates how the remaining mistrust of Jesuits still shaped the reactions of the non-Catholic population (and perhaps elements of the Catholic community as well). A significant segment of the population, for whom the fathers were perceived as intruders, never ceased to regard the Jesuits with hatred. And in some cases Jesuits were indisputably intruders provoking hostility. Joannes Endre (1638–1680), was "ab hereticis ... ejectus" from a Protestant church he had entered (the location of this incident is not specified, but the priest had worked in Košice), beaten by the enraged congregation, and compelled to live in a hut where he was exposed to the weather, suggesting that this incident occurred far from any Jesuit community.⁵⁸ The inclusion of this anecdote in the priest's obituary proves how much the Society valued this type of action, although what Endre did upon entering the church to deserve his rough expulsion is not clear. Meanwhile non-Catholics fought against Jesuit power in less direct ways. A picture of the Virgin which the fathers had brought to Košice was desecrated in 1725 with a "Schmäschrift," and a Calvinist preacher was blamed for the outrage, imprisoned and then expelled from Hungary.⁵⁹ Such measures may have controlled the immediate challenge from Protestants, but did little to curb the lingering resentment in many quarters to the aggressive tactics of the Jesuits. The perception of a Protestant resident of Gastein, Salzburg, during a period of Jesuit inquisitorial activity in the 1730s captures the emotions generated by the Society's approach to heresy:

⁵⁶ *Extractus Repraesentationis A catholicorum Cassoviensium* Ms. I, Ab 68 I–II/27, folio 1v (unnumbered), ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, VIII, 740; Lukács, *Catalogi*, IX, 4; 70.

⁵⁷ Hufton, "The Widow's Mite and Other Strategies," 131–134.

⁵⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum* XI, Ms. I, Ab 147, fol. 38, ELTEK.

⁵⁹ Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*, 222.

No household, no bedroom, no barn or stall, no straw hut or pasture shack, no basement, no cave, is safe from their spying. Like wolves and assassins, the Jesuit fathers creep into your houses and poke into every corner, questioning children and farmhands. If you say a word you are lost.⁶⁰

An arguably more permanent cultural force than the missions or even the schools established by the Society in Košice were the scores of titles published by the Jesuit press between 1674 and 1677, and again from 1716 and 1773.⁶¹ The resources expended on this press, which was itself much less prolific than its sister press in Trnava, reveal a determination to cultivate a literary or at least literate culture in the midst of an environment that some have described as less concerned with reading than with the arts.⁶² A review of all the books published by the Jesuit press lies outside the scope of this study, but a few volumes must be mentioned here to suggest the ambition and diffuse nature of this century-long publishing enterprise. Between 1768 and 1771 (the exact date is unknown), the press produced *Ruže Maryanská... pro osobu ženskú* [The Rosary... for a woman], a devotional work intended for women literate in Slovak.⁶³ As its title suggests, the work was connected with the praying of the Rosary; it sold for 30 kreuzers, probably without a hard binding ("in crudo"), which would have made it affordable to at least some townsfolk.⁶⁴ This production of a book in the vernacular by Habsburg Jesuits for women was not an isolated occurrence; at about the same time the Cluj Jesuit press produced

⁶⁰ Quoted in Melton, "Confessional Power and the Power of Confession," 144. Jesuits likewise did not hesitate to confiscate the books and manuscripts of heretics. Greiser, "Confessionalization and Polemic," 142.

⁶¹ Pach and Várkonyi, eds., *Magyarország története*, vol. 3, part 2, 1497. The Society purchased a press that had operated in Bardejov to supply its needs in Košice. Gárdonyi, "Hazai könyvtermelésünk," 1. The names of at least six Jesuit brothers who worked on the press have survived. Pavercsik, "Egy jezsuita tulajdonban lévő nyomda," 336; 341.

⁶² Vöcelka, "Enlightenment in the Habsburg Monarchy," 197.

⁶³ Pavercsik, *A kassai könyvek útja a nyomdától az olvasóig*, 208; 209.

⁶⁴ A kreuzer was 1/60 of a florin, so 30 kreuzers equalled perhaps a day's wages for a skilled workman.

a Hungarian "ABC for Girls."⁶⁵ The Slovak volume probably served to promote one of the many Marian sodalities that the Society sponsored and which provided a link between the ordered life of the *residencia* and the secular small town world that could provide students for the Society's schools and allies when trouble threatened.⁶⁶ Recent scholarship has noted the parallels between lay confraternities directed by Jesuits and the *Ratio*: both presented hierarchical models, the one academically, the other socially.⁶⁷ Marian sodalities made up of women possessed the same characteristics, and Jesuits did not hesitate to introduce these patterns into the communities in which they worked. But the relationship between Jesuits and these lay congregations was complex and could involve tensions and even rifts between laypersons and clergy. Jesuits therefore at times had to devote significant efforts to maintaining control of congregations and sodalities.⁶⁸ In Hungary the Society's commitment to sodalities was evident early on. In 1655 the Košice Jesuits were very probably the publishers of a book of prayers to the Virgin used by such a sodality.⁶⁹

Books such as *Ruže Maryanská* are striking evidence of both the attention Jesuits paid to the Slovak language and their willingness to

⁶⁵ Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism*, 153. In Ingolstadt the Jesuit press produced a German grammar in 1764. Weich, *Mannheim—Das neue Jerusalem*, 84–85. By the mid-eighteenth century vows undertaken by *coadjutores temporales* were being recorded in German as well as Latin. *Nomina eorum, qui residentia agriensi Societatis Jesu coadjutorum temporalium acceperunt*, Szentiványi 594, R XI, 83, fols. 8–9, BB.

⁶⁶ Knapp and Tüskés, "A barokk kori társulati élet forrásai," 926. The first Marian sodality for students was founded at the Collegium Romanum in 1563; these organizations eventually "came to embrace large sections of the urban population in Catholic Europe." Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 225.

⁶⁷ Terpstra, "De-institutionalizing Confraternity Studies," 267.

⁶⁸ In Constance and Alsace in the mid-eighteenth century there was serious resistance within congregations against the traditional authoritative role of the Jesuits. Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout*, 188.

⁶⁹ A prayer book, lacking its title page but signed by Benedict Kisdy and provisionally dated 1655 and identified as published in Košice, is housed in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, RMK 2579. http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk/lpext.dll/eRMK/5efc/5fbc/646b?f=templates&fn=document-frame.htm&2.0#JD_RMNY2579

engage with women of lower than noble status on a literary level. Like a number of the rules imposed upon the sixteenth-century Society, Claudio Aquaviva's 1586 decision to forbid Jesuits from having any dealings with women's congregations modeled on Marian sodalities⁷⁰ was loosened over time. The existence of *Ruže Maryanská* also suggests a significant level of literacy among female Slovak speakers in the region. Such small and inexpensively produced books designed for female and/or juvenile readerships document the Society's broadly conceived agenda in which book culture and devotional practice were intertwined. There was also a strongly practical side to the Jesuit printing enterprise which in 1732 produced a book of antidotes.⁷¹ A Jesuit pharmacy had operated with interruptions in Košice for more than ninety years when this volume was published, and despite widespread hostility to Catholic theology, Jesuit pharmacological knowledge was recognized throughout Hungary and Transylvania. The Society's pharmacies in Trnava, Cluj, Prešov, and elsewhere, regulated by the Crown, served a wide range of clients and were a significant point of contact with segments of the population who otherwise seldom interacted with Jesuits.⁷² These pharmacies developed in curious counterpoint to the Society's baroque asceticism.⁷³ Jesuit priests famously avoided university faculties of medicine, and individual Jesuits sometimes even took pride in their scorning of doctors' cures as they faced illness, yet at the same time Jesuit brothers—and less frequently, priests—amassed a wide and efficacious knowledge of drugs that they incorporated into their mission in the “cure of souls.”⁷⁴ The complement of the Jesuit dying as a virtuous if largely ineffective *victima charitatis* was the Jesuit who

⁷⁰ Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 280.

⁷¹ *Antidotarium, sive Pharmacopoea Nova*; Petrik, ed., *Magyarország Bibliographiája 1712–1860* vol. 1, ser. 1, 90.

⁷² Péter, *Az erdélyi gyógyszerészet*, 11–12; 15. mek.oszk.hu/02700/02752/02752.pdf

⁷³ The obituary of Father Silvester Nasal (1656–1684) reported that he not only despised food, but found “pharmacea” abhorrent. *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 103, ELTEK.

⁷⁴ Father Georgius Zavaktai (–1675) was “praefectus in seminariis apothecae et sanitatis” (prefect in the seminaries of the pharmacy and of health), probably in Trnava. *Elogia Defunctorum V*, Ms. I, Ab 141, fol. 189, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, IV, 418.

lived on to administer medicines to those in need. The publication of a book summarizing, as its extended title announced, the "latest Viennese practices" (dispensarium Viennense novissimum) showed a willingness to share practical information that paralleled the pedagogical philosophy of the *Ratio* while standing in contrast to the retention of the equally arcane knowledge needed to exorcise a demon.

Finally, we note that the Jesuit press in Košice published the *Januae Linguarum Vestibulum* of Jan Amos Comenius three times during the eighteenth century, the last time in 1769.⁷⁵ However, in this edition, Comenius (1592–1670), a bishop of the Moravian Brethren, was not credited as the author of this important textbook, whose essential philosophy placed a greater emphasis on content than did the verbalism set forth in scaffold form in the *Ratio*.⁷⁶ The decision to publish this work of course indicates the openness of the Society to pedagogical innovation while at the same time suggesting the delicate position Jesuit educators found themselves when confessional animosities persisted and were compounded by Habsburg policy regarding contacts with Protestant schools and universities. These circumstances prevented Austrian Province Jesuits, unlike some of their French brethren, from participating more than marginally in what Anthony Grafton has evocatively described as the "roomy but fragile imaginary mansion [that] housed the 'Republic of Letters'" that stretched from Naples to Edinburgh.⁷⁷ Considering the widespread fame of Comenius, it is likely that many who bought and used these editions of his language text were aware of who its unnamed author was, yet as propagators of a Counter-Reformation ideology still living when the last press run of the *Januae* took place, the Jesuits could never openly acknowledge the achievements of their confessional rivals.

The scope and scale of the Košice printing program exemplified by these two very different publications point to the Achilles heel of the Jesuit program throughout the Habsburg East: the application of

⁷⁵ Krapka and Mikula, *Dejiny*, 102. The *Januae* was also printed by the Society's press in Cluj in 1768. <http://www.lib.cas.cz/kvo/bibliografie-komensky/spisy-podle-jmen-tiskaru.html>

⁷⁶ Scaglione, "Humanism vs. Universalism and Catholic vs. Protestant Education," 9.

⁷⁷ Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History Early Modern Europe*, 1.

too thinly spread resources to a wide range of ambitious and difficult to sustain projects. The Košice *academia*, founded in 1658, grew rapidly and aspired to the status of a university, although it lacked two of the four faculties (medicine and law) commonly associated with that title in Western Europe and had the reputation for being less academically rigorous than the Society's university in Trnava.⁷⁸ Until 1672, when it moved to Uzhhorod, a "Seminarium Marianum" where a number of poor boys were supported "ex fundatione" was yet another project in the town managed by the fathers.⁷⁹ Rural missions consumed additional time and resources, while legal wrangles with townspeople proved an intermittent distraction, as did the occasional emergency possibly far from the *residentia* that required Jesuit intervention. Many of these seem to have little to do with the fathers. A duel between two officers (presumably of the Imperial army) in August of 1702, resulted in the wounding of a lieutenant and the dispatching of "our doctor" (*noster medicus*) to the wounded man.⁸⁰ The all too common perils of town life caused additional disruptions. The previous June, a fire had broken out on the roof of the Jesuit church and spread rapidly, destroying fifty burghers' houses. This prompted the writer of the community's *Diarium* to observe ominously, "The common opinion is that the fire was started by a *malevolus*."⁸¹

⁷⁸ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1658, Aust. 142*, fol. 37r, ARSI. By 1665, the number of students at the Jesuit school (which included lower classes), exclusive of Jesuits, was 316. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1665, Aust. 142*, fol. 193v. The program ran as a three-year philosophical program and a four year theological program. Pach and Várkonyi, eds., *Magyarország története*, vol. 3, part 2, 1497.

⁷⁹ Letter of Stephanus Pominovsky, Ungvarinum [sic], 23 January 1672 *Austria 8I*, fol. 637; *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1665, Austria 142*, fol. 193v, ARSI.

⁸⁰ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.*, Ms. I/II, Ab 86, 2, fol. 252v [5 August 1702], ELTEK. Records for the Košice Jesuit community list no "medicus" among its personnel, so the exact relationship between doctor and community in this case remains a mystery but is suggestive of the close connections between Jesuits and some secular professions. A duel also figured in the case of a thief who "propter attentatum duellum," fled to the *collegium* in Levoča with three musketeers (!) on his heels. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis* P. 478, fol. 335v [22 February 1702], MOL.

⁸¹ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.*, Ms. I/II, Ab 86 2, fols. 208v–209r, ELTEK. This insinuation is by no means certain, since like most towns in the early modern period, Košice suffered repeatedly from fires, and in addition, experienced

The impact of these inevitable distractions, the thin spread of resources, and the overall remoteness of the town on the effectiveness of the Society's work, was obvious. For on top of the special educational assignments that the Society took on for itself, there were also the older traditions of hospitality and collegial engagement that had characterized many of the earlier religious orders and which the Jesuits felt compelled to continue. In Košice in 1693, Basilite monks, some of whom may have been trained in Jesuit schools, engaged in a debate with two Jesuit fathers.⁸²

The Jesuits of Košice could count among their members some of the leading lights of the Austrian Province, including Samuel Timon (1675–1736), the most important Hungarian historian of his day, and Joannes Banki, at one time the Vice Provincial of the Austrian Province. One Jesuit who worked in Košice, Benedictus Szölösi (1609–1656), can be credited with a fundamental contribution to Slovak and Hungarian cultures. In 1650 Szölösi published *Cantus Catholici*, a collection of religious music that included folk melodies not preserved anywhere else.⁸³ Szölösi, identified in the Society's records as "slavus," preached in Hungarian while a missionary, and worked in Homonna and Spiš.⁸⁴ Even more than Timon, Szölösi accomplished his work in isolation, without apparent institutional support or collaboration with fellow Jesuits. Nor did Szölösi thereby create a precedent upon which later Jesuits were able to build, and there is no evidence that the Society expected him to do so. Thus, even in the mid-seventeenth century, while continuing to articulate an ideology that sought to embrace the world, the Society was faced with the reality of serious restrictions in

an earthquake in March 1676. Hunfalvy, *Magyarország és Erdély eredeti képekben. II kötet*, 253. See also Wick, *A jezsuita rend története Kassán*, 18.

⁸² "Mane theses philosophicas apud monachos oppugnavit P. Kalzoni, a prandjis theologicas ibidem P. Minister et P. Kis." *Diarium Collegii Cassov.* Ms II/1, Ab 86/2, fol. 20v [15 December 1693], ELTEK. No "P. Kalzoni" appears in Lukács in the *Catalogi Generales*. Later, Georgius Gabriel Blazsovsky, the future Uniate bishop of Mukacheve from 1738 until 1742, studied philosophy in Košice. Basilovits, *Brevis notitia... Pars Prima*, 186.

⁸³ *Cantus Catholici* (Budapest: Kir. Magyar egyetem. Ny. 1935).

⁸⁴ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 1787; Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 766; Klaniczay and Stoll, *Régi Magyar költők tára XVII. század*, 646.

resources, a circumstance that would remain constant until the fateful summer of 1773.

Despite these notable individual achievements during its century and a half of existence the Košice community could boast no lasting significant literary or scientific foundation. And after the construction of the Society's church in the town, no notable examples of Jesuit visual art were found in Košice, nor did Jesuit theatre there shine particularly (although we cannot know the details of set design here, which may have been more extravagant than other visual displays mounted by the Society).⁸⁵ But we must remember that despite the impressive output of the Society's press, such achievements were not really the goal of the Jesuits in Košice. Szölösi and other seventeenth century Jesuits, and perhaps Timon as well, did not have a conscious intent to further national identity or culture. Their isolated efforts were aimed, either directly or indirectly, at the "care of souls" and the promotion of the Church though whose offices this might be accomplished. Thus the "success" or "failure" of the truncated Košice university cannot be judged by the standards of those Jesuit activities often carried out in the more cosmopolitan university towns of Western Europe or even those achieved by Jesuit universities in Vienna or Prague. Instead, the objective of the Jesuits during the more than a century that they maintained a university in northeastern Hungary was to root an enduring Catholic culture, rather than to train a nobility in an already predominantly Catholic region or even to replace a Protestant educational institution with one loyal to Rome. Košice and the territory around it formed a gap in an advancing tide of Catholic culture that by the late seventeenth century was stretching from the Baltic to Belgrade.

To understand the intended functions of the Košice university and the *convictus nobilium* or school for noble youths that the Society also operated nearby,⁸⁶ we must keep in mind that the loudly broadcast

⁸⁵ For a glimpse at the elaborate sets in a relatively small Jesuit school, see Knapp and Kilián, *The Sopron Collection of Jesuit Stage Designs*.

⁸⁶ Documentation for this school is much scarcer than that for the *collegium*. Jesuits who had worked in a variety of settings were sometimes cycled through the *convictus*: for example, Nicolaus Petko died while teaching at the *convictus* in 1756 at the age of 50, "fractus laboribus," (broken down by his labors). Katona, *Historia critica*... 20, 989.

ambition and idealism of the pre-Suppression Society were generally counterbalanced by a quiet pragmatism. In the most optimistic scenario the town and the countryside around a Jesuit outpost would become Catholic, and shaky economic conditions would give way to prosperity and attendant social stability. Yet the location of Košice and the necessity of using the resources collected there in support of even more remote Jesuit communities such as Levoča and Uzhhorod restricted the scale of the university enterprise while simultaneously placing the burden of printing and distributing books, something that only larger Jesuit communities could generally undertake, on the Jesuits of Košice.⁸⁷ The relative scale of the Jesuit presence in the town contributed to another connection between book culture and the community, but one of a very different sort. Only two years after the press was established, Joannes Banki, then rector of the Jesuit university, claimed the right to censor non-academic books.⁸⁸ No matter how slender its resources, the Society's determination to shape the culture around it never faded.

Mobility, of both priests and brothers, was a key characteristic of the Jesuit population of Košice, which drove the need of the Society to anchor its local story of martyrdom in concrete objects such as buildings and monuments. This frequently-remarked upon radical mobility of its members who often did not stay long enough to become part of a rooted community can be seen as a plus, if it was coupled with the authentic academic meritocracy with which some have credited the Society.⁸⁹ But the minuses were equally evident. Eighteenth-century

⁸⁷ For a study of one of the most removed outposts, see Shore, "The Life and Death of a Jesuit Mission."

⁸⁸ Halaga, "Z dejin," 532. Banki, despite—or perhaps in keeping with—his high rank in the Society, lived a life of severe adversity: he faced famine while in Košice during the time of the Thököly uprising, and is reported to have been threatened with servitude on a galley ("intentatis triremibus") while serving in Trnava. Kazy, *Historia Universitatis Tyrnaviensis*, 291. Maria Theresia entrusted the censoring of books in Hungary to the Jesuits in 1749, but eighteen years later, as the influence of the Society was waning, she specified that instead the regulations of the Vienna censor now had to be followed. Fülöp, *Olvasók, könyvek, könyvtárak. Művelődéstörténeti olvasókönyv 10–18 éveseknek*. mek.oszk.hu/01600/01647/

⁸⁹ William Clark sees this mobility and potential for meritocratic advancement as far ahead of Protestant education, noting that the Society pioneered the

critics pointed out that teachers were moved too often, sometimes during the school year, but this policy remained unaltered until the Suppression.⁹⁰ Michael Göttner, who in 1744 received a Ph. D. in Košice, taught in Judenburg, Zagreb, Buda, Fiume, Cluj, and Linz, and preached in Eger and Oradea.⁹¹ Similarly Gabriel Szerdahelyi, born in Mukacheve in 1660, published polemics and a *Meteorologica Philosophico-Politica* and taught in Zagreb, Trnava, and Košice, where he served as rector and died in 1726.⁹² An even more extreme instance is found in the career of Petrus Miel (1681–1755), who not only worked in Sibiu, but for 26 years was the confessor in the “gynaeceum,” a residence where female servants and ladies in waiting of the Archduchess Elizabeth in Brussels lived.⁹³ Such a career could be exhausting and disjointed both professionally and personally, although some Jesuits probably enjoyed the opportunity to take on different tasks, while others might need to be relocated. Yet when Jesuits tumbled while on this path, they might fall quite far. The arrest of the Spaniard Felipe de Medrano for sexual irregularities in 1694, illustrated how the frequent relocations that Jesuits endured could deepen the psychological isolation that they already felt from their biological families, and thus from their own biological identities.⁹⁴ Ultimately, from whatever angle it was viewed, the emerging narrative of the Košice Jesuit community and the difficulties that made up day to day life there bore little resemblance to the panegyrics and baroque drama with which the story of the recovery of Hungary for Catholicism was retold in Rome and elsewhere throughout the Catholic world, as when in 1695 the Collegium Germano-Hungaricum staged “Epistola in Hungariam Roma missa die

idea of sabbaticals for its teaching members. Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University*, 437.

⁹⁰ Tomek, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs*, iii, 241.

⁹¹ *Catalogus I. Collegii Claudiopolitani S. J. anno 1758*, Aust. 103, fol. 89, ARSI.

⁹² Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, viii, 1776–1779; for Szerdahelyi’s scientific writings, see Horváthy and Németh, “A jezsuita kozmográfia.”

⁹³ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 1009–1010.

⁹⁴ Haliczzer, *Sexuality in the Confessional*, 97. Reinforcing this sense of isolation a Jesuit might feel from his family were the numerous biographies of saints, both male and female, who had struggled against their families’ wishes to enter religious life. Ultimately, this theme might be traced to accounts of Jesus’ distant relations to his own biological family in the Gospels.

10 septembris.”⁹⁵ After the initial period in the seventeenth century ornamented by martyrdoms, the narrative of Jesuit progress in Hungary would sound different notes at the center of the Society’s hierarchical organization than on its periphery.

⁹⁵ Baumgarten, “Un mélodrame Baroque sur la Hongrie.”

IV

Campaign in Prešov

“Through carelessness, or more probably malice...”

A long day's journey to the north of Košice was Prešov (Eperjes, Preschau, Eperiensis), a heavily Lutheran town that had been badly buffeted by war, fire and, in particular plague, and had lost more than half its population during the seventeenth century, leaving no more than about 2,000 inhabitants struggling to sustain themselves.¹ When 24 prominent citizens were executed in 1687 for their support of the Thököly uprising, the impact on the town was devastating. The execution of these convicted conspirators and the display of their quartered bodies took place in the square across from the Jesuit *collegium*, symbolism doubtless not lost on the locals, who never seemed to warm to the fathers. Perhaps the Jesuits did not appreciate the depth of resistance to Catholicism that had long characterized the town: Decades earlier Prešov had been the destination of Utraquist refugee Jakub Jacobaeus, who would become a source for Samuel Timon's historical work.²

The struggle between Catholics and Protestants had already been played out once before publicly in Prešov. On 13 May 1671, the Austrian Major General Spankau, in the company of the bishop of Eger and several Jesuits, had seized the Evangelical *collegium*, and the following year the Jesuits made this building their *residentia*.³ The year 1673 saw the suspension of the constitution of Hungary, which contained

¹ Marečková, “Eperjes társadalmi szerkezete a XVII. században,” 71.

² Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia*, 71.

³ Zsilinszky, ed., *A magyarhoni protestáns egyház története*, 266.

guarantees of religious liberty.⁴ The so-called “Prešov massacre” of Protestants followed immediately and in the next year Evangelical pastors and teachers were ruthlessly persecuted as part of the program to make all of Royal Hungary staunchly Catholic without delay.⁵ The local Lutheran leadership then faced the choice of pleading guilty to *crimen laesae maiestatis* and subsequent exile, or trials in which a verdict of guilty would bring a sentence to the galleys.⁶ In the following years, under the strong pressure of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Georgius Szelepcsényi, no less than 65,000 Protestant residents of Royal Hungary officially became Catholics, many as the result of Jesuit efforts.⁷ Yet despite mass conversions and “voluntary” exiles, northeastern Hungary, unlike districts in the Holy Roman Empire, still claimed too many non-Catholic inhabitants for the Society to expel or imprison them all.⁸ Instead Jesuits, after their persecution of the Protestant leadership, sought to exert power by retaining the properties they had seized and using them as bases for missionary and educational undertakings, a strategy that had both pluses and minuses.

Not surprisingly, anti-Habsburg and anti-Jesuit feelings here ran as high, if not higher than in Košice, and here the lower number of Hungarian speakers may have contributed to this hostility to predominantly Hungarian speaking Jesuits who came to live in Prešov. If the largely literate population did not dare to express its resistance to the Jesuits through open protest, they could still read and retain books that denounced the Society. At least one burgher, known only as “Gutt,” had an anti-Jesuit book in his library in 1676.⁹ Eleven years earlier

⁴ Király, “The Hungarian Church,” 107.

⁵ Kowalská, “Learning and Education in Slovakia During the Late 17th and 18th Centuries,” 33.

⁶ Kowalská, “Confessional Exile from Hungary in 17th Century Europe.”

⁷ Holotík, ed., *Dejiny Slovenska I.*, 330.

⁸ Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque*, 217. The fortress towns of Upper Hungary resisted forcible Catholicization so obdurately that by 1674 Vienna had to rethink its policy and relent. Betts, “The Habsburg Lands,” 493.

⁹ The title of this otherwise unidentified work, *Contra Masenij Soc[ietatis] Jesu...*, probably refers to the Jesuit poet and pedagogue Jakob Masenius (1606–1681). Farkas, Bálint, et al., eds., *Magyarország magánkönyvtárak ii. 1588–1721*, 89.

a Protestant nobleman, Franciscus Bónis, listed among the books in his house in Košice a volume he called *Pater Jesuitak titkai*, which is in all likelihood the anonymously produced *Jezsuita páterek titkai* [*The Secrets of the Jesuit Fathers*] (Várad, 1657), a collection of tales describing the evil doings of the Society.¹⁰

Jesuits knew what to do when they encountered such materials. A cache of heretical books in both German and Slovak, written by a “ministellus” (a Protestant minister—the diminutive here is meant to be insulting) in prison were seized in 1747, and shipped off to Bratislava, where they were presumably then kept under lock and key.¹¹ Meanwhile the occasional and inevitable hardships that struck the Jesuits were viewed by them with suspicion and the knowledge that many in the town did not wish them well. When a fire struck property owned by the Jesuit community in the countryside, the historian of the *residentia* wrote “...per incuriam vel potius malitiam in executione militari ... incineratae sunt tres domus in pago nostro...” (...through either carelessness or more probably malice, during a military exercise... three homes were burned in the district we own...) ¹² Rightly or not, the Jesuits felt themselves to be surrounded by incompetence and malice, a feeling that did not dissipate as the eighteenth century wore on.¹³ In Prešov, as in most other communities along the Habsburg eastern periphery, the fathers found themselves at a disadvantage in another way. The steady turnover of at least a portion of the personnel manning the school and conducting missions meant that in a sense the Jesuits remained strangers in the community for many decades after their first arrival. The Jesuits therefore shared the experience of their brethren in remote missions in the Americas or Asia, with

¹⁰ Farkas, Keserű et al., eds., *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak II*, 42; Segesvary, *The History of a Private Library in 18th Century Hungary*, 129.

¹¹ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 87v, ELTEK.

¹² *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 42r, ELTEK.

¹³ Jesuits throughout the eastern Austrian Province perceived—perhaps accurately—dishonesty in many of their neighbors. Among the “emolumenta” reported during the year 1769 in Alba Iulia “numerat complures agros nequam hominum fraudibus abalienatos, et nunc demum receptos” (there were numbered many fields of which we were deprived by the frauds of evil people, and which are now at last restored to us). *Annuae Residentiae Alben-sis Soc’tis Jesu*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 79r, BB.

one important difference: politically, they were not complete strangers, but were associated with a power that utilized historical claims to the region that were in opposition to the perceived rights and privileges that had been held by the towns of Royal Hungary since the Middle Ages. This was different from the pattern of conquest and colonization in which the Jesuits had participated in other parts of the world. While unquestionably brutal at times, the Habsburg subjugation of Hungary was founded on a dynastic claim that drew on the enduring symbolism of the Crown and kingdom, and which stressed continuity and legitimacy as opposed to the complete overthrow of the political and social order. Thus the Jesuits of Royal Hungary were caught between an as of yet untransformed and unsubdued pattern of local social and institutional relationships, and the aspirations of the House of Austria to draw this pattern into its own sphere of control. Added to this hardship were other challenges for the Society. The Hungarian nobility, despite the failed conspiracies and public executions it suffered, was never replaced wholesale with *Kaisertreu* families as had been the Bohemian aristocracy after White Mountain; many Protestant burghers kept their faith in the face of decades of persecution, and no well established educational institutions such as the Prague University were waiting to be taken over by Jesuit professors.

In the face of these and other difficulties, Jesuits gamely tried to keep a stiff upper lip. The yearly report from Prešov for 1736 ran through a short list of *damna* or misfortunes, and then concluded with the words, "But since all these things come from the thrice best and greatest God, let the glory be to him."¹⁴ But what was the earthly evidence of this glory and of Divine approval of the Jesuits' enterprise in this harsh and unwelcoming setting? If the Košice Jesuits could point to their printing press and university, and to the glory of their martyr predecessors, their hard pressed brethren in Prešov took solace in the more modest successes achieved by their educational and missionary work. Rescuing a dozen persons "vacillantes in fide" as Jesuits did in 1702 was an important achievement.¹⁵ Despite the relatively small scale of the Jesuit presence in the town, the community could count

¹⁴ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 65v, ELTEK.

¹⁵ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 16r, ELTEK.

on members with a fairly wide range of talents. Some of the *coadjutores temporales* possessed varied and highly developed skills. Brother Paulus Benyo for example spoke four languages, something matched by only a few other Jesuit brothers in the region.¹⁶

In 1673, a year after kuruc forces had briefly seized the town, only to be quickly expelled by the Austrians, a Jesuit gymnasium opened in Prešov, which was then forced to close again for five years starting in 1682 because of the Thököly uprising.¹⁷ In the meantime tensions between Catholics and Protestants of northern and western Hungary were exacerbated when the latter had been compelled to submit to a royal decree permitting free worship only in what were called “articular” places. These were settlements in which formerly there had been no churches consecrated in the Catholic faith.¹⁸ The intended result of this decree was to further restrict the influence and visibility of Protestants, and to force them to turn to institutions such as the Society’s schools. The tactic was successful, but there is little evidence that it won the Jesuits many allies or converts as a result.

When the school in Prešov reopened in 1687 it did so on a modest scale, with two teachers and four classes; this was expanded to six classes in 1700.¹⁹ During these years the plague again visited Prešov, leaving Father Franciscus Palchich as almost the only priest remaining to administer the viaticum in German and Slovak to the dying.²⁰ More troubles were to come. In the last months of 1703 Prešov fell under a blockade by rebels that lasted for months and created great hardships.²¹ The year 1704 was disastrous for the Jesuit community: Rákóczi’s troops finally captured the town, while the future of the Jesuit school hung on by a thread. An anonymous teacher wrote in May

¹⁶ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis ad annum 1771*, Ms. I, Ab 91, fol. 11r, ELTEK.

¹⁷ Mrva and Daniel, “Slovakia during the early modern era,” 134. Jesuits were also expelled from other communities in Royal Hungary at this time. Timon, *Epitome Chronologica*, 536.

¹⁸ Bitskey, “Spiritual Life in the Early Modern Age,” 257.

¹⁹ Gyenis, *Régi jezsuita rendházak*. mek.oszk.hu/00000/00014/

²⁰ Palchich had already endured expulsion from Košice by Thököly’s forces and had spent the siege of Vienna as a captive. *Elogia Defunctorum I*, Ms. I, Ab 137, fol. 122, ELTEK.

²¹ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 19r, ELTEK.

of that year that several of the middle level classes had been cancelled, and “the students seem to prefer the gunpowder of their homeland over academics. And as for the mere nine who remain in school, they are disgusting to the Muses.”²² The candor of this Jesuit facing an extremely frustrating situation is striking, and may also be flavored by a non-Hungarian’s view of Hungarian patriotic sentiments—or, considering the widespread popularity among the Ruthenian “gens fidelissima” for the rebellion, the comment may cut other ways as well. The emotion articulated here lifts the veil, if only slightly, on relations between Jesuit teachers and their pupils, especially in settings threatened by danger. The *Ratio* prescribes that a respectful distance be maintained between students and teachers, but the general tone recommended for interactions is far warmer than the norm recommended in most educational treatises of the early modern period. Allowance was even made for students to evaluate their instructors. Yet here an adverse situation seemed neither to have parallels with earlier cases from the history of the Society which resulted in success nor to offer clues as to how to proceed. The students, whatever their shortcomings as scholars, could not be cast in the role of villains in a Jesuit narrative, yet they were not part of a Jesuit success story, either. In 1707, during the Rákóczi rebellion, the Jesuits were again expelled from the town, although their churches were returned in 1714, some years after the cessation of hostilities.²³ They immediately began to rebuild, but Prešov was not destined to rise above the magnitude of a very minor project of the Austrian Province.

Like other Jesuit communities, Prešov had a library consisting mostly of books that had been approved by the Society and the Catholic Church. The collection of books was no doubt aided by an endowment given to the *residentia* by Cardinal Kollinics in 1698.²⁴ By the

²² “plerisque alumni magis martiales patrij pulveres, quam scholastici placuerunt, et idcirco successive ad hostes profugerunt, remanentib’ solum novem et his Musas nauseantib’.” *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 21r, ELTEK.

²³ According to some accounts, the Jesuits were first removed to a hospital building before being expelled completely. *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 26r, ELTEK.

²⁴ Timon, *Epitome Chronologica*, 563.

close of the Jesuit period in 1773 the Society's residence in Prešov possessed a library of 900 volumes, of which 110 had been produced by the Jesuit press in Košice.²⁵ The size of this library was all the more significant in relation to the small Jesuit community operating in the town. Clearly the Prešov Jesuits worked in the spirit of the possibly apocryphal remark of St. Peter Canisius, "Better a college without a chapel than a college without a library." Yet as we have seen, the evidence of private libraries and of the library of the Lutheran school, whether intact or dispersed, suggests that the Society had nothing approaching a monopoly on books. This was somewhat in contrast to what Jesuits confronted in the southern Danube Basin, where poverty, the lack of urban centers, and the Ottoman occupation retarded the development of book culture. In the end, the Jesuit presence in Prešov remained a very potent one, but by no means the dominant cultural influence.

Prešov counted Ruthenians among its inhabitants, and a significant number of townspeople were Eastern Rite Christians in union with Rome, while others were Orthodox, a population that Jesuits proselytized with mixed results.²⁶ Jews and Muslims were also to be found, the latter frequently in precarious circumstances. While Prešov never fell under Turkish control, the town had been close enough to

²⁵ Pavercsik, *A kassai könyvek*, 296. The size of the libraries of Jesuit *residentialia* is at times remarkable. Although the catalogue has not survived, a letter indicates that the library of the Timișoara mission, which a few years earlier had been one of the most isolated and vulnerable Jesuit communities, in 1651 possessed 1800 volumes. While some of these might have belonged to the Franciscans, who were then in possession of the mission, many must have been part of an earlier Jesuit library. Monok, "A könyvtárak és a könyvolvasás," 129.

²⁶ The degree to which Jesuits of the Austrian Province were prepared to meet Orthodox believers on their own terms is not always clear. Franciscus Szunyog (1669–1716) composed a catechism in Romanian that was first published in Trnava in 1696, but it was later reprinted in the Latin alphabet, which few Romanians would have been able to read. RMK II, 1864; 2395. Only occasionally could Jesuits record, "Octodecim personae fidem catholicam amplexae sunt, Graeci schismatici duae..." (Eighteen persons embraced the Catholic Faith, as did two of the Greek schismatics...). *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis Societatis Jesu ab anno 1673 ad annum 1776 inclusive*, Ms. II/1, Ab 90, fol. 5r, ELTEK.

the frontier and to sporadic skirmishes between Austrian and Ottoman forces to absorb a few of the castoffs and victims of these encounters. Three Muslims were reported converted in the town in 1687, although not necessarily by the Jesuits. In 1688 Jesuits could claim the successful conversion of “mahometanus unus.”²⁷ The same year a complex tale entered the Society’s records of a Muslim woman “of both elegant body and spirit” who during the siege of Eger had made her escape from the fortress with a girl companion, after having cared for Christians in the town prison. This lady’s baptism in Prešov brought together strands of “fuga,” service “in carceribus,” and even a hostile infidel husband into an ideal narrative of multiple triumphs over adversity.²⁸

In 1696, a decade after the retreat of the Turks from the district, a “puella Turcica” was baptized; there is no record of either parent also becoming Christian at this point, which may point to the fact that the child was an orphan, a category of convert very common in the eastern Austrian Province.²⁹ Thirteen Muslims were counted among the catechists whom Jesuits were teaching in 1689, and five were baptized.³⁰ The gender and age of these individuals was not noted, but the sheer number of catechists in a town of this size is remarkable. The following year “Turcae tres” were baptized.³¹ In 1693, two more Turkish girls, ages 10 and 12, had been baptized, again without mention of any parent.³² Muslim converts disappear from the Society’s records in

²⁷ *Austria 147–148, Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1688, fol. 23r, ARSI.*

²⁸ *Austria 147–148, Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1688, fol. 29r, ARSI.*

²⁹ *Annue Literae anni 1696. Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 6r, ELTEK. Female converts from Islam were generally much more common than males. The conversion of a Muslim—or formerly Muslim—female might happen in surprising circumstances: only a few years earlier in Vienna, a “faemina turcica poppae Budensis uxor” was reported converted. How a “poppa” (Orthodox priest) came to be married to a Turkish woman (if indeed the Jesuit chronicler had an accurate understanding of the event), and what the religion of this woman at the time of her conversion might have been, is not known. *Historia Domūs Professae Viennensis S. I., 1651–1689*, 2111578, fol. 451v, Archivum Provinciae Austriae S. J. Thanks to Prof. Rudolf Prokschi for his assistance in gaining access to this document.

³⁰ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I/1, Ab 90, fol. 3v, ELTEK.

³¹ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I/1, Ab 90, fol. 4r, ELTEK.

³² *Annuae Literae Anni 1693. Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms I, 1, Ab 90, fol. 4v, ELTEK.

the coming century, as the Ottoman frontier retreated and a period of relative stability came to the district. When considering these numbers the strong possibility that many of these Muslims were born Christian must be considered. Widows, abandoned wives, and their children often made up a large portion of those converted by Jesuits from Islam, a factor that places Jesuit-Muslim interactions in a context far different from encounters with adult male Muslims, who were occasionally converted.³³

Muslim influences might enter Jesuit schools in other, more subtle ways. Matriculation records show a few traces of children exposed to Turkish and Muslim culture but later drawn into Christian settings: Gabriel Arvai, a noble youth from Szatmár *megye*, who “understands Turkish although he has forgotten much of it” was ransomed from captivity at age 9 and enrolled at the Trenčín novitiate 8 years later.³⁴ This is one of the very few references in Austrian Province records to even the existence of the Turkish language, and we may assume that catechizing never took place in Turkish. In fact one of the striking features of the Jesuit program of conversion in the region is the absence of any serious attempts to use the language of the Ottomans. If the convert had been raised Christian, but later converted to Islam because of marriage to a Muslim, Jesuit tactics would have included elements other than those used to engage a lifelong adult Muslim.³⁵

³³ Among the “conversi” recorded in 1662 is a “Turcicus sacerdos” in Bratislava. *Austria 142, Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1662*, fol. 170r. ARSI. Islam does not possess a clergy in the sense understood in Christianity; this man may just possibly have been an imam, although it is more likely that his actual title or status was simply misunderstood or mistranslated. A few scattered references to female converts from Islam dot the Society’s records from the early eighteenth century: In Uzhhorod in 1703 a “Mahometana mulier” was baptized. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 28v, JLB.

³⁴ Petruch, “A trencséni jezsuita noviciátus évkönyve,” 378.

³⁵ An account from Alba Iulia illustrates how Jesuits often understood the experiences of these women: “... adhuc dum parvula à matre sua C’tiana (quae antieriori bello in captivitate’ Turcicam abducta est) id[?] documenti crebriq’ acceperat: memor viveret e[ss]e prolem e[ss]e matri’s C’tianae; ageret proinde ominibus virib’ pro libertatione’ tum à Turcicae, quam Mahometij jugo; defunct’ itaq’ marito Turcico monibus matris, quod alta mente resposuerat exequi agressa, non sine mortis periculo [!], per ingenes et

The Jewish community of Prešov was small, but much more firmly rooted than the town's scattered and tiny Muslim population. Probably augmented by refugees from the Polish pogroms of the 1650s, the Jewish population of Prešov was undoubtedly targeted by Jesuits who made use of their customary strategy of concentrating attention on young males who might be converted before they became completely invested in the role of religiously observant Jewish adults. (A classic, often repeated pattern in Jesuit records was the conversion of a boy and his mother.³⁶) The history of the Jesuit *residencia* notes that in 1701 a Jew named "Mardocheus... Luchatzii [in Luck, Poland?] natus" abjured his "perfidious" religion, after a nocturnal vision of his deceased father appeared to him.³⁷ All the difficulties attendant upon the interpretation of demonic possession apply in cases such as this one, since it is impossible to know either what the young man actually recalled of his dream, or what he reported of it to the Jesuits. As narrated the story has elements of the Biblical "dream as warning" experienced by the Magi or by Joseph, as well as a hint of how Jesuit contact with Jewish

difficiles viarum ambages huc tandem devenit et libertate filiorum DEI donata est." (Up to this point from her Christian mother (who in an earlier war had been held in Turkish captivity) she had been the recipient of repeated lessons on how to work with all her strength to gain freedom from the Turks, as well as from the yoke of Mohamed. Thus when her husband had died, keeping foremost in her mind the warnings of her mother, she dared to carry out her plan. And not without danger of death, through vast, difficult and winding paths eventually she arrived here and gained the freedom of the children of GOD.) *Annuae Societatis Jesu Alba-Carolinae anno 1724*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 21v, BB.

³⁶ "E mosaici demum [?] instituti sectatoribus duo se legi novae subdidere, mater scilicet cum filio" *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 53r, JLB. The description of Mosaic Law as the governing rule of a sect is unusual.

³⁷ *Annuae Literae Soc. Iesu anno 1701. Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90. fol. 12v, ELTEK. The same year a Roma woman repudiated the "mahometicam pravitatem" and was baptized with the name Anna Maria. The Jesuit narrative themes of demonic possession and conversion from a "perfidious religion" could be combined, as when the Tartar slave of a Polish prince was "l'esclave du demon" that threatened to strangle the slave if he converted to Christianity. Avril, *Voyage en divers etats*, 196.

families could bring tensions already within these families to the fore.³⁸ With the practice of Judaism so closely tied to familial relationships, the Jesuits' negative view of Jewish "perfidy" inevitably spilled over the ways Jesuits interacted with Jewish families. Almost any activity undertaken by a Jew might be in fact suspect, and the mere Jewish nature of a thing was sufficient cause for its name to be used as an insult.³⁹ Characteristic of the morally dubious role that was claimed for the Jews in the culture of Royal Hungary and the way they were viewed by Jesuits is the record of an "impostor" who allegedly posed as a physician in Prešov. As described in the *Litterae annuae* of the Jesuit community for 1734, this man convinced many local residents (including, presumably, non-Jews) to seek hidden treasures. Both the cupidity of the local Catholics and the alleged mendacity of the Jews are implied in this story, as well as the documented effort of Jesuits to correct both problems.⁴⁰

Prešov was the sometime residence of the bishop of the Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church, Joseph de Camelis, who died there in 1706.⁴¹ While less stormy than the Jesuit campaign in Transylvania to establish a union with Rome, the creation of the Ruthenian Uniate Church was not without tension. The moving of the bishop's seat from Mukacheve, further to the east, and more centrally located among Ruthenians, had generated resistance from Uniate clergy, and many

³⁸ The case of Shimon Abeles, a Jewish boy who in 1694 was murdered before he could convert to Catholicism, is one of the best documented of such instances. Louthan, *Converting*, 300–316.

³⁹ E. g., a "heretical church" was denominated a "Synagoga Sathanae." *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LII*, 65. Yet a faithful Jesuit might be described without a trace of irony as a "verus et genuinus Isrāelita," as in the obituary of Father Petrus Balogh (1634–1687), *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 346, ELTEK.

⁴⁰ *Annuae Litterae Anni 1734. Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 60r, ELTEK. (The Latin title of these annual letters varies slightly from year to year.) Jews were accused of perfidy by Jesuits even if they did nothing more devious than die. "Inter Damna" for 1768 in Alba Iulia is this entry: "... item 200 fl. Rhenenses, qui ante biennium perfido Judaeo male crediti, cum morte ejus interierunt." (...item 200 Rhenish florins, which two years before to be loaned to a Jew of bad faith, were lost when [the Jew] died.) *Historia Residentiae Alba-Carolinae*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 77r, BB.

⁴¹ Udvari, *Ruszinok a XVIII. században*, 177.

believed that the Jesuits had forced the move west in order to bring the bishop more securely under their control.⁴² The Greek-Catholic or Uniate Church was a crucial component of the Society's program to extend the authority of Rome to the north and east, and the successful establishment of Uniate bishops after the Union of Uzhhorod in 1646 increased the Jesuits' leverage throughout the eastern counties of Royal Hungary.⁴³ But as in neighboring Transylvania, resistance to the idea of union with Rome persisted among Eastern Orthodox. Among the latter, Jesuits were widely perceived as conspiring to undermine the Eastern Churches by concentrating on converting the Orthodox faithful rather than bringing heathens and Muslims to Christ.⁴⁴ Some Orthodox faithful saw themselves in a war with the Society. A Wallachian envoy to Moscow wrote in 1698, "The secular war may finish some time but the Jesuit war never."⁴⁵ This fear was only enhanced by the fact that Jesuits were frequently military chaplains in the Habsburg armies that imposed the authority of Vienna wherever they went.⁴⁶ Jesuits in turn looked upon the willingness of the Eastern Church to tolerate divorce and remarriage as indulgence of bigamy and sin and the sketchy theological education of some Orthodox clergy as further evidence of spiritual laxity.⁴⁷ The Society's aggressive conversion programs among Orthodox and Uniate believers stirred up hostile

⁴² "... tum quod nonnullorum etiam e clero suo per Patres Jesuitas contra se concitatorum animos graves erga se experietur..." Lutskey (Luchkai), *Historia Carpato-Ruthenorum*, 120. De Camelis, a Greek from Chios, spoke neither Ruthenian nor Hungarian, and would have had to rely on interpreters and informants, most probably among them, Jesuits.

⁴³ Shore, "The Life and Death," 602–603.

⁴⁴ Elßner, "Die neuste Beschreibung der Griechischen Christen in der Tüürckey" (Berlin, 1737), cited in Benz, *Die Ostkirche im Lichte der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung*, 110.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683–1730," 195.

⁴⁶ Lacko, *The Union of Uzhhorod*, 159. One of the most famous of these chaplains was Lucas Kolich (Kolics), who was present at the siege of Buda in 1686, where he braved danger to administer last rites to the dying. Tanner, Matthias, *Societas Jesu Apostolorum*, 940.

⁴⁷ The Orthodox Church did not welcome divorce, but tolerated it "as a compromise with human nature." Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700*, 106.

emotions, but nonetheless Jesuits made several conversions in Prešov from among these populations.⁴⁸ Yet questions of language and mutual understanding arose here as well. There is scant evidence that any Jesuits active in the region could speak Ruthenian (a language which de Camellis also did not know), and while many Ruthenians undoubtedly understood two or three languages besides their mother tongue, Jesuit ignorance of Ruthenian liturgy and hymnology put the Catholic missionaries at a disadvantage.⁴⁹ Jesuit conversion strategies, often bitterly criticized by the Society's opponents, were also suspect, as Jesuits records themselves sometimes half-confessed: in Uzhhorod, a conversion was achieved in 1753 "bono dolo Patris missionarii" (through the good trickery of the missionary Father).⁵⁰ All these factors, along with the evident disdain with which some in the Society regarded Eastern Orthodox believers and even high ranking Uniate clergy, combined to create a chasm between the highly educated Jesuits and the often minimally educated Uniate clergy that impeded collaboration and mutual respect.

The Roma lived throughout the eastern reaches of Royal Hungary and Transylvania, and Jesuit missionaries sought out contacts with them, perhaps especially during times of hardship when this vulnerable population might be more willing to respond to their overtures.⁵¹ Some

⁴⁸ "Complures, qui transierunt ex ritu Ruthenico ad ritum Romano-Catholicum..." *Annuae 1720. Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms I, Ab 90, fol. 38r, ELTEK. It is not clear why Jesuits would seek to convert Ruthenian Uniates to Roman Catholicism since these believers were already in full union with Rome and looked upon as potential allies of the Habsburgs. Five "Rutheni" were reported converted in 1685 in Prešov. *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms I, Ab. 90, fol. 5v, ELTEK.

⁴⁹ In 1773 the Jesuit library in Eger, out of 1602 books inventoried, possessed perhaps a handful in Ruthenian. Sugár "Az egri jezsuita könyvtár 1774-ben," 330.

⁵⁰ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 100r, JLB.

⁵¹ "Zingari" in Cluj were persuaded to attend church in 1708, a difficult year, although it is not clear whether any at that time converted. *Historia S. J. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fol. 77 OSzK. An ambiguous entry in the history of the Satu Mare *residentia* may mean that Roma were among the students enrolled in the school there: "Scholares nostri numerus excesseritur [?] 40 varius: ex Ruthenicis, Valachis, Zingaris adeo collecti illi..." (Our scholars number more than 40 of different backgrounds: Ruthenians, Valachs and

Jesuits maintained a very negative view of the Roma, who might be labeled “faecem hominum” or “the dregs of humanity.”⁵² In a few instances conversions of individuals who may have been Roma occurred, about whom the Society’s records reveal little.⁵³ However the historian Ladislaus Turóczi (1682–1765) noted with great disapproval the massacre of Roma undertaken by Joannes Zapolyi’s soldiers in Nagyidana, in 1557.⁵⁴ Encounters between Jesuits and Roma frequently generated comments by the former on the housing, clothing and personal conduct of the latter. The account of the labors of Nicolas Horvath (1633–1681), who worked in Ottoman occupied lands, notes, “Turcarum Zingaros dum nec romanticis artibus simpliciorum Christianorum domus ac mentes inficerent...e vestitu barbaro morum cultusq. Christian[or?]um ostenderet” (The Gypsies of the Turks do not even have the homes or ways of thinking of the more simple Christians. [Horvath] offered them a way out of the more barbarous way of life in Christian worship).⁵⁵ In the eighteenth-century Roma traders frequented the vicinity of the Society’s schools and were well known to Jesuit writers.⁵⁶

As is true in other Jesuit communities, documentation regarding contacts between Roma and Jesuits in Prešov is equivocal. Among the converts reported from 1687 is the following enigmatic entry: “...ex Regimine C[?]ano quorum unus sexaginario major. Praeterea civis unus pyrobolarius alter et uxor cujusdem tenentis... item duo Mauri

Gypsies are gathered together...). *Historia Residentiae Sathmariensis Soc. Jesu incepta 1671*, Ms II/1, Ab 105, fol. 140, ELTEK.

⁵² A phrase used by Emericus Görgeus, who was conducting missions near Satu Mare in the early eighteenth century, in Nilles, *Symbolae*, 509. Cf. this account from the Bács mission of 1707: “Zingari, gens prorsus rudis...” (Gypsies, a people absolutely without culture...). *Historia S. J. Claudiopolis*, FMI/1608, fol. 37v, OSzK.

⁵³ In 1755 in Uzhhorod “Mihály Zingari” is counted among the converted. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 103v, JLB.

⁵⁴ Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 177.

⁵⁵ *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fols. 82; 105, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi IV*, 638.

⁵⁶ During a fire in 1774 at what had been the Jesuit residence, and where several former Jesuits still taught, “Greek” merchants and otherwise unidentified “Indians” packed up their wares and fled into the open countryside. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 148v, JLB.

baptizati...”⁵⁷ Conversion narratives frequently note the age of the converted if it is great. “Pyrobolarius,” literally, “fire thrower,” may refer to someone skilled at constructing bombs for military purposes or fireworks. The use of the term “Mauri” is also significant. Since “Turca” was employed as a general description of Muslims, the use of Maurus here may imply that these converts were darker skinned or that they in somehow conveyed a non-European origin; however usage here may not be consistent.⁵⁸ The same year, a “Maurus mahometanus” was reported converted on his deathbed, suggesting how the Society, four years after the relief of Vienna and one year after the successful siege of Buda, worked to identify and convert the remaining Muslims living in Hungary.⁵⁹ Memories of the Ottoman presence did not die out quickly in Prešov. As late as 1761, long after the danger of Turkish attacks had faded, the Jesuit school produced a drama featuring among its characters the Sultan Mohammed IV.⁶⁰

Despite the Jesuits’ earnest efforts, as the years passed the north-eastern part of Royal Hungary did not become religiously uniform in the way that Bohemia and the Hereditary Lands had. Protestant preachers described by the Jesuit chronicler as “rapacious wolves” still

⁵⁷ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. II, Ab 90, fol. 2v, ELTEK. See also an entry for 1766, fol. 129v.

⁵⁸ Maurus seems to have been a description of a physical type. In Cadiz in 1652, “duo Mauri” were converted and the same year one was converted in Jerez. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.L.C.II.*, 54. Although Jesuits were renowned for their cataloguing of phenomena, in the Habsburg East the Society’s chroniclers frequently were imprecise in their reporting of ethnic and linguistic categories. Thus the language of psalms sung by Ruthenian “schismatic” priests in Mukacheve in 1667 was reported as “Illyricus,” the word otherwise used for Croatian. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 848.

⁵⁹ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. II, 1, Ab 90, fol. 2r, ELTEK. Conversions were also reported in Bratislava in 1685 and 1688, and in Trnava in 1687, *Ungheria e Transilvania 2 (1676–1695)*, fols. 213r; 250r; 251r–251v, ASCPF. Two other converts from Islam in an unspecified location in Hungary were reported in 1707. *Ungheria e Transilvania 3 (1696–1707)*, fols. 280r–281r, ASCPF.

⁶⁰ “Exercuit ad finem anni scholastici Mahometem 4 in Imperio habitilem in proscenium adduxit.” *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis S.I. ab anno 1673*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 120r, ELTEK; Staud, *Forrásai*, ii, 433.

infest Prešov in 1689 and are given two hours to leave the town.⁶¹ An entry in the *Historia Residentia* for 1733 is a reminder what a theological and cultural frontier Prešov could still be: "...unus velut in media barbarie omnis fidei expers, ovile Xsti ingressus est" (... one who, as in the midst of barbarism, is devoid of every faith, has entered the flock of Christ).⁶² Caught between the politically favored position of Catholicism⁶³ and the historic roots of Lutheranism in the district, this man had moved between two or more religious affiliations. As such he was someone Jesuits paid especial attention to both because he would have been perceived as open to persuasion, and also because of the risk he posed to others because of his demonstrated ability to change allegiances. But such individuals were few and far between.

The year 1687 was a terrible one for Prešov. The ascendant Habsburgs turned to extreme measures in their efforts to subdue once and for all the disloyal and heterodox inhabitants of the Prešov region. Torture was employed on more than one occasion to extract confessions and also to spread fear among those remaining segments of the population that still were covertly hostile to the Austrian program. Kuruc rebels in Mukacheve, a fortress town to the southeast, had managed to resist a siege, the second in two years, by Habsburg forces, in part because of money sent to the town by Protestants in neighboring communities.⁶⁴ Burghers in Prešov who had aided the rebels with silver and

⁶¹ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. II, Ab 90, fol. 3v, ELTEK. Later these preachers were expelled even from the suburbs of Prešov.

⁶² *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. II, Ab 90, fol. 56r, ELTEK.

⁶³ The *Carolina Resolutio*, proclaimed in 1731 for Hungary proper, forced Protestants out of public offices, closed Protestant schools, and required that children of mixed marriages be raised Catholic. It was not superseded until fifty years later by Joseph II's Edict of Toleration. Király, "The Hungarian Church," 120.

⁶⁴ Mukacheve was never the site of any important permanent school or residence of the Society but it was where Father Thomas Globi (1637–1683) spent four years and from whence he was sent "in Turciam." Globi later turned up in Satu Mare destitute, and then moved on to Maramureş. Arrested by kuruc troops and taken to Kővár fortress, Globi remained steadfastly "oblitus periculi" and was freed through the agency of the legate of the King of Poland. *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fols. 319–320, ELTEK; Gyenis, *Rendházak*. Concerning the pre-kuruc Jesuit presence in the town, fifty years later the historian Turóczi wrote "Degebant & Jesuitae

gold were tortured and executed by the notoriously cruel Austrian general Count Antonio Caraffa who now controlled the town. One of the condemned, Andrej Szekely, pleaded unsuccessfully for his life, pointing out that he had sent his sons to Jesuit schools.⁶⁵ Szekely's desperate plea showed how the position of the Jesuit school in the community had in only a few years since its founding in 1673, become much greater than the mere number of its students might suggest.

Had the rebel sympathizer tried to pose as a devout Catholic by making a connection to the Society's school? Whatever the unfortunate Szekely's motives, his identification with the Jesuit school would have done much to place him among the "respectable" citizens of the town. And the fact that Jesuit schoolmasters were teaching the sons of a supporter of the overthrow of the Austrians is a reminder that beneath the straightforward presentation of enrolment data lurked a complex welter of motives, loyalties and perceptions within the households of those who took advantage of the Society's free and academically respected schools. With the imposition of Austrian Catholic control, the *gymnasium* run by the Jesuits had become not only the leading educational institution of the town, but a nexus of political and social importance. Out of 170 students enrolled in 1696, 40 were of noble birth, a strikingly high number for a community not dominated by the aristocracy.⁶⁶ At the same time Jesuit education brought together boys destined for careers as artisans and those who would serve as officers in the Imperial army or as priests, and in practice was a far more flexible system than a quick perusal of the *Ratio* might suggest.⁶⁷ Having a connection to a Jesuit school in a small town such as Prešov was something few

tum in arce Munkacsiensi, tum in oppido, pluribus sub principe Sophia Bathoria annis & strenuam in reduendis heterodoxis navabant operam." (Jesuits also lived both in the fortress of Mukacheve, and in the town, for many years under Princess Zsófia Báthory, working hard to reduce heresy.) Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 154.

⁶⁵ Kónya, "Vychodoslovenské slobodné kráľovské mestá," 194, citing "Caraffov list Diedrichsteinovi 2 13 111 1687" [Caraffa's correspondence with Prince Diedrichstein] I, s613.

⁶⁶ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 6, ELTEK.

⁶⁷ Jesuit records are discreet in reporting variances from the *Ratio* curriculum, but considerable evidence exists of such courses as "Trivialis Germanica" which was offered at the Alba Iulia gymnasium in 1715. *Annuae Residentiae*

seemed to be able to do without, whatever their actual religious beliefs. All the while the conversion of Protestants was pursued without respite. Jesuit records make no mention of the fact, but at least one Jesuit appears to have been present at the interrogations conducted under torture. A “diligent Jesuit” is reported to have interrogated Žigmund Zimmermann, a Protestant burgher.⁶⁸ This unnamed Jesuit may have been the elusive Ignatius Perzihoff, who is also the author of a letter sent from Belgrade to the Primate of Hungary in which the father indulged in an unwonted outburst, declaring that because the “atheist” military commander of the city has commandeered the Jesuit church in order to store grain, “God does not have a home in Belgrade.”⁶⁹

Despite the varied and occasionally questionable activities of Jesuits working on the Habsburg periphery, evidence of one activity that was frequently imputed to the Society—espionage—is almost entirely missing not merely from Jesuit records but from the writings of the Society’s adversaries as well. Georgius Landovits (1649–1699), denounced by “the Protestants” to Ottoman authorities as a spy, narrowly escaped death at the stake. Instead the father achieved an end more in keeping with the ideals of the Society: he died of a stroke while preaching.⁷⁰ Could other Jesuits actually have been engaged in espionage? Over the long term, and to the exclusion of most of their other activities, probably no, although the sharing of information gleaned while passing over ambiguous and porous borders, or while traveling incognito certainly occurred. This was no doubt not because of a lack of willingness on the part of some of the fathers to aid the grand enterprise of Catholic expansion in this way, but simply because of the more general manpower shortage that dominated so much of Society’s experience in the Habsburg east.

Soc’is Iesv Alba-Carolinae ad annum 1715, Szentiványi 323, fol. 6r, BB. See also O’Malley, “From the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* to the Present,” 140.

⁶⁸ Kónya, *Krvavý Súd*, 62.

⁶⁹ Korade, Aleksić and Matoš, *Jesuits and Croatian Culture*, 106–107. The writer has so far been unable to locate the original of the letter cited here.

⁷⁰ Rosty, “Pótló adatok,” 234; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 203; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 1458.

Sex and Demons

... there is no Christian moral universe without the notion of demonic power, but there is also the possibility that there will be no meaning at all, if that power is present in excess.¹

In response to the continually unstable situation of their mission the Jesuits of Prešov turned to the reliable tactic of producing school dramas to build rapport and to showcase commonalities between the locals and the fathers. These plays included one whose name is now lost, which in 1711 was performed in German, Hungarian, and Slovak.² Sermons and catechism lessons were also given in Slovak, as well as in other languages.³ Yet the continual presentation of spectacles that drew on the imagination and provided glimpses of worlds other than that known in the day to day life of the town was arguably closer to the experience of the supernatural than were sermons or lessons. Both these performances and interventions in cases of the supernatural, as was the case in Košice and other communities, probably did much more to define the mission of the Society in Prešov. These interventions, considered collectively, contain some common elements. In the year 1696 a widow of the town was tormented by nightly infestations of an “incubus,” a demon seeking to have sexual intercourse

¹ Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism*, 146, citing Stuart Clark.

² Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 417.

³ Antonius Hedri served as a preacher and catechizer in Slovak for one year in the middle of the eighteenth century. *Cat. Coll. Claud. I*, 1758, *Austria* 103, fol. 85, ARSI.

with her, and in this case taking the form of her deceased husband.⁴ With the help of a Jesuit priest the woman was freed from the demon, which may have been linked to the legends of the “nučnyk,” a nocturnal creature in the folklore of the eastern Carpathians.⁵ Although the demon had been expelled, the unfortunate woman was still compelled to perform a public penance, perhaps implying she had failed to resist the demon or that other sexual indiscretions had subsequently come to light.⁶ The following year another woman, a recent convert from Unitarianism, was similarly delivered from nocturnal demonic harassment in the same town.⁷ The complex of factors that brought about such cases of possession can only be parsed speculatively from a great temporal and cultural distance; Walter Stephens offers the following observation:

Possession brought repressed sexuality to the surface and displayed it publicly. Men exploited and often provoked these crises, but their motives were not uniquely or primarily pornographic.⁸

Stephen's point has intuitive appeal, especially for explaining the behavior of women in closed communities such as convents. For more

⁴ For a discussion of the power and techniques of the incubus, see Torjesen, *When Women were Priests*, 230. The female equivalent of the incubus, the succubus, was also abroad; from Spiš came this report: “... juvenis nefandis tartarei genij succubi ludibrijs per ipsum septennium oblatâ variâ specie animalium diversorum—spurcissimè vexatus, nunc tandem apud nos à labyrintho illo est expeditus.” (... a youth tormented in an extremely foul fashion for these seven years by the mockeries of a demon of hell, by various kinds of animals that came into his view, now was delivered in our residence from this labyrinth...) *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesu anni M.D.C.LII.*, 41.

⁵ Bogatyřev, *Vampires in the Carpathians*, 133.

⁶ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 6r, ELTEK. Demons were busy on many sexual fronts. In seventeenth-century Transylvania, one was reported to have boasted how he had gotten a Calvinist pastor to fornicate with his own daughter. Tóth, “The Missionary and the Devil,” 86.

⁷ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 7r, ELTEK.

⁸ Stephens, *Demon Lovers*, 347. Historians have pointed to the role of sexual repression in demonic possession cases, and the relation between exorcisms and policing of moral conduct by clergy. Joseph Klaitz, *Servants of Satan*, 81; 114

independent males troubled by demons, the fit may not be as good.⁹ To these motivations could be added an interest, which existed within the Society but also extended far beyond it, in evidences of innocence and virtue manifested through Divine signs. Scholars have noted that even when the energies of Counter-Reformation Catholicism were being brought to bear with full force Eastern Europe did not exhibit the same interest in contemplative experience and matters of individual conscience but instead were drawn to anecdotes of boyish innocence and perhaps most especially to instance of divine intervention.¹⁰ The community at large would have been most interested to learn which of its members were innocent of misconduct and which were not. As for who was likely to be publicly exposed for commerce with a demon, a widow or recent convert may well have been more vulnerable to damaging gossip than a man who also had nighttime visitors, and therefore she could be persuaded to make a clean breast of things before she lost control of the narrative. And perhaps she would also be more willing to confide her experiences to a receptive Jesuit.

The relation of the Jesuit's own personality and sexuality to the imagined sexual contacts between mortal and demon cannot be pinpointed yet must be taken into consideration as we try to locate the fathers within communities such as Prešov. The Society from its inception had placed some considerable emphasis on the eradication of "sexual immorality," and the allegedly lax morals of Eastern orthodox communities were a recurring theme in Jesuit communications from the region. Jesuits working in environments whose folkways presented a challenge to their own metaphysics freely linked the use of amulets and other tools to access to the supernatural and sexual misconduct.

The Jesuits were not the only clergy actively seeking out immoral activities and attempting to impose social order through the employment of various forms of public exposure and censure. What sets the program of the Society apart from individual Calvinist clergy campaigning to improve the morals of a community was a combination of

⁹ It is harder to find the sexual sources of the demon that lured a resident of Trenčín to a raging river where he nearly drowned. Timely use of the sign of the Cross saved his life. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LI.*, 24.

¹⁰ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 192.

rigorous expectations placed on all members of the community coupled with the opportunities for forgiveness and integration into the community that the Society's approach to confession and penance offered. An added element was material force, often in the form of the judicial actions that the Habsburg regime could initiate, as well as through the blunter force of Habsburg arms. The ability to intervene in the daily lives of residents of Prešov may have added to the Jesuits' sense of gratification resulting from being able to enforce social norms that, separate from specific theologically driven positions advocated by the Society, individual Jesuits regarded as valid.¹¹ And the repeated references to sexual temptation that occur in the obituaries of Jesuits make clear that the fathers (and brothers) themselves struggled continually with their own desires.

Setting aside the unanswerable question of what each of these women of Prešov may have actually been subjectively experiencing, we must consider that the town was a place of face to face relationships, tightly twined kinship connections and a social pecking order. The news of these exorcisms would have traveled rapidly through the town, where many Protestants continued to regard the Jesuits with contempt or hatred. Even devout Catholics might be easily persuaded that a Jesuit was transgressing by lingering about a woman's bed. But despite these risks, Jesuits did not shy away from these confrontations, indeed appeared to relish them, approaching the challenge with what seemed to them a coherent view of the problem.¹² Jesuits brought to the process of attempting to regulate sexual conduct, ether in the material or spectral world, a strong belief in the connection between sexual difficulties and missteps of individuals and the activities of the Devil, coupled with their conviction that they were adequately armed to meet this

¹¹ Thus in early seventeenth-century Spain the Jesuit Gaspar Astete expressed, not so much the teachings of Trent as "conventional wisdom" regarding the proper behavior of unmarried girls when he asserted that the body of an unmarried girl belonged to her father. Taylor, "Women, Honor, and Violence in a Castilian Town, 1600–1650," 1083.

¹² Lyndal Roper sees a "sexual logic" in exorcisms performed during this period by Catholic priests, since possessed women's behavior might also be perceived as excessively masculine. Admission of sexual experience with nocturnal demon might also fall under this category. Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 190–191.

adversary and defeat him.¹³ The connection drawn between sexual immorality and social control was drawn in the environment of bigamy, divorce and general moral laxity which (in the view of the Jesuits) was crowned in its depravity by the lack of priests, Uniate or Roman Catholic, to whom sinners might confess.¹⁴ Even students attending a Jesuit school were not immune to the dangers of sexual misconduct. An ambiguous passage in the *Historia Collegii* of Uzhhorod seems to imply that some students not only had engaged in inappropriate contact with local women, but also contracted venereal disease in the process.¹⁵

A report from the Jesuit outpost in Cluj-Mănăştur from 1650 describes a variation on the strategy of Jesuit-conducted exorcisms. A collection of demons is tormenting a woman, and so the fathers conversing in Latin (presumably so that the victim would not understand them) write down the names of the demons, and then burn the paper. The victim, "who had not seen what was on the paper nor could have read it, had she seen it" (*Illa, quae cartam illam nec viderat, nec si vidisset, legere norat*) could then expel six demons.¹⁶ Here the special

¹³ Related to this point is the connection made between sexual deviance and religious error. Invading Muslims were characterized as sodomites in sermons preached in seventeenth century Hungary. For a discussion of early modern German language literature that associated sodomy with Turks, see Falkner, "Having It Off," 412–414.

¹⁴ In 1653 both Catholics and Ruthenian Uniates of Uzhhorod were awaiting a priest to whom they could confess. *Lit. Ann. 1653, Austria 141*, fol. 220v, ARSI. What was at stake was not only the forgiveness of sin, but the promotion of the sacraments, mandated by the Council of Trent.

¹⁵ "Quid vero ij, quorum foedatos ulcere venereo animos jam erumpens flamma consumebat? Quam nihilominus Patres nostri apud plurimos feliciter extinxerunt. Nocturna, quae citra praesentissimum incautae juventutis periculum instituti haud possunt cum sexu sequiore colloquia penitus impedita, obsceni sermones interdicti, ac omnes id genus periculosae juvenum consuetudines abrogatae." (What then of those whose souls, joined in compacts with a venereal ulcer [curse?] were consumed by a flame that broke forth? But this flame happily was extinguished in many cases by our Fathers. Nighttime encounters held nearby with the weaker sex, the sort that can scarcely be allowed, and that placed careless youth at immediate danger, were privately stopped, obscene conversations prevented, and every sort of dangerous practice of these youths completely abolished.) *Historia Collegii Vnghvariensis*, folio 89v [1749].

¹⁶ *Annuae Literae anni M.D.C.L.*, 52.

knowledge that the Jesuits possess turns the combat of multiple demons against multiple exorcists into a contest where the power of the word triumphs. There is also the sense in this report of the collective unified power and authority of members of the Society, and more than a whiff of sexism to boot. Such joined efforts could occasionally fill the gap left by the absence of other communal acts in Jesuit culture.

Prostitutes consistently receive special attention in Jesuit records and were evidently a group of particular concern to the Society.¹⁷ As with accounts of the Society's dealing with other women, stereotypic elements are intermixed with distinctive details that add an atmosphere of realism. In Târgu Mureș, in December of 1737, a "puella infelix," who had intimate relations with soldiers, drove to the Jesuit residential "habitu meretricis," (in the garb of a prostitute); "etiamnunc attonsa, ac in praesentia nostra mistis aliquali solatio lachrymis, quaenam esset, prodidit" (and now in our presence, with her hair shorn, she somewhat gained solace, which was mixed with tears).¹⁸ Perhaps the greater vividness of this account is owing to the presumably short time that elapsed between the event and its recording; similar accounts redacted at year's end for *Annuae Litterae* were assembled in the presence of many other accounts and were retailored to integrate with the wider narrative of the moral progress of the Society.

For those serving the Society, discretion, conspicuous rectitude, and evident self-discipline were called for every step of the way in its dealings with women, since the Catholic Church often imposed a Puritanism more stringent than the Protestant variety, particularly when it was competing for souls with strict Protestant denominations.¹⁹ Jesuits found themselves in innumerable similar situations such as the conversion of a Roma woman who had previously been a Muslim (the *Historia* of the Prešov *Residentia* mentions that she abandoned the "green

¹⁷ Both the location of many of the Society's missions at "urban crossroads" (as was Alba Iulia) and the willingness of Jesuits to take on the more emotionally charged human issues contributed to the early commitment of the Society not merely to those women in danger of becoming prostitutes, but to prostitutes themselves. Perry, "'Lost Women' in Early Modern Seville," here 205.

¹⁸ *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Maros Vasarheliensis*, Szentiványi 691, fol. 173r, BB.

¹⁹ Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 214.

garment under which she concealed her sex”),²⁰ the presenting of a candle that had been blessed to a Muslim midwife in Transylvania,²¹ the caring for a “heretic” woman in Belgrade who had been abandoned by others,²² the comforting of an attempted suicide,²³ or the reforming of a woman who had spent twenty years of sin among the Tartars.²⁴ Each of these acts was not only an act of Christian charity; it was a performance of conspicuous Jesuit virtue. This virtue was echoed in the narratives of Jesuit school dramas and other performances which sought to redeem the Society’s reputation from the thieves, would-be alchemists, dropouts, brawlers, and murder victims who had also been counted among their communities.²⁵

Unlike the sometimes nobly born yet morally questionable female characters in Jesuit accounts where attempted seduction or sexual transgression is contrasted with Jesuit virtue, the women in these stories of intervention, restitution and mercy are vulnerable and in need of assistance or moral redirection. Yet they too serve as anonymous foils for the exposition of Jesuit good deeds.²⁶ From its very beginnings

²⁰ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab, 90, fol. 12v, ELTEK.

²¹ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1662, *Austria* 142, fol. 186r, ARSI.

²² Ignatius Eberle died in 1738 of the plague after caring for this woman. de Guilhermy, *Ménologe ... Première Serie, Seconde Partie*, 318–319, citing *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1739.

²³ Having lost the household money to a thief and fearing her husband’s reaction, a despondent woman slashed her wrists, and then stabbed herself in the throat. Her husband summoned the Jesuits who are able to instruct the woman in penance before she died the next day. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LI.*, 44–45.

²⁴ *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 16v, ELTEK. The last Mongol invasion of Hungary occurred as late as 1717, when hundreds of prisoners were seized and held for ransom. Fogarassy, “Az utolsó tatárjárás Magyarországon,” here 304.

²⁵ Nádasí implicitly acknowledges the impact these “failed” Jesuits had on the culture of the Society when he mentions such rogues as Christophorus Seeman, who after his dismissal from the Jesuits dabbled in alchemy, denied he had ever been a priest, and connived to marry a young noblewoman. Nádasí, *Tristes*, 118. F2, fols. 347–348, PFK.

²⁶ As when in Uzhorod, in 1749 Jesuits “... mulieres in altera [sc. domo] ab improba peccandi facilitate retrahebant.” (... women in the shameless opportunity of sin were rescued.) *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 86v, JLB.

the Society had placed emphasis on the care of vulnerable women and girls while simultaneously taking seriously the capacities of women. Before the first of the Society's academic schools had opened, the Jesuits had established a home in Rome for young women in danger of being forced into a life of prostitution.²⁷ In the New World, the Society had utilized female interpreters and taught girls to read and write, while in Japan, women converts had been among the most committed allies of the Jesuits.²⁸ In the Habsburg East, Jesuit work among marginalized women served several goals enshrined at the very beginning of the Society's work.²⁹ The story of Adamus Jabroccki and a girl violated by a soldier in Braşov, Transylvania during one of the last outbreaks of the plague in 1756, encapsulates several of these themes. Jabroccki was of noble birth (something always of interest to the Society), and had received the best training the Austrian Province could offer, including the study of philosophy in Vienna. The unfortunate girl, the daughter of a respected Saxon burgher, was badgered by a Lutheran "ministellus" (who in this narrative plays the role, if not of the villain, at least of the spurned rival), but sought the ministrations of a Jesuit instead. However, she had contracted the plague and Jabroccki perished tending to her.³⁰ Work among such vulnerable women accomplished much more for the Society than merely providing opportunities for Jesuit virtue to shine, however. It allowed Jesuits to reach an important element of the population that its schools could not,³¹ and which its males-only

²⁷ O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 182.

²⁸ Ward, "Jesuits, too," 640–641. One Jesuit working in Brazil even asserted that women were better confessors than he was! Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, 26–27.

²⁹ Jerome Nadal (1507–1580), one of the original companions of Ignatius, wrote concerning the marginalized, "The Society has the care of those souls for whom either there is nobody to care, or, if somebody ought to care, the care is negligent. This is the reason for the founding of the Society... its strength... its dignity in the Church." Jerome Nadal, *Orationis Observationes*, ed. Michael Nicolau (Rome Institutum Historicum S. I., 1964), cited in Lucas, *Landmarking*, 114.

³⁰ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 610–611. In the same passage the Valach (Romanian) population is described contemptuously as a "popello." See also Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 159.

³¹ In Cluj a *Domus Conversorum* where girls were taught was under the guidance of a Jesuit director, but its curriculum does not appear to have been

institutional culture could never recruit.³² Contacts between Jesuits and women in settings such as sodalities furthered the Society's program of "correcting" social problems and building Catholic solidarity among laypersons.³³

Jesuit work among women also fit into the larger goal of service among the neglected and despised elements of a disrupted and unstable society, a key element of the Society's self-perception and a recurring theme in its own records.³⁴ Service among women also enabled Jesuits to play the role of, as Maryks puts it, the "benign, understanding and learned male" who stood in contrast to other men that they encountered (critics however saw this role, which had begun with Ignatius' own dealings with women, as a cynical attempt to control vulnerable, neglected or isolated figures such as Zsófia Báthory). Christian charity offered to a woman of Muslim or Jewish background addressed the needs of multiple categories of suffering humanity simultaneously. At the same time the occasional unregenerate "bad" woman in a narrative could also function in chiaroscuro contrast to steadfast Jesuit (male) virtue, as when the story of an angry woman standing on the street denouncing Jesuits during the 1683 siege of Vienna could be retold to confirm the constancy of the Jesuit preacher Fridericus Jellensiz.³⁵

Yet despite their efforts to reach out to women, as we have seen, a profound ambivalence persisted among Jesuits towards all things female, one that had been obvious in the pronouncements of their

based on the *Ratio*.

³² In fact there has been only one female Jesuit, Princess Juana of Austria (1535–1573) who appears in the Society's records as Mateo Sánchez or Montoya. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 75.

³³ But occasionally competition between two sodalities both under Jesuit sponsorship could result in strife that undermined the goals of social control and discipline.

³⁴ Among the tasks performed by Ignatius Killenhofer, a *coadjutor temporalis* in the Trnava community in 1652 who also served as a barber, was the distribution of the food to the poor. Lukács, *Catalogi III*, 331. Many Jesuit priests were described in their obituaries as "fathers of the poor."

³⁵ The woman's words, perhaps translated from Wienerisch, were "vos belli incitatores, malorum flagrantium causa Jesuitae, vos estis abigendi, exterminandi." (You Jesuits, inciters of war, causers of outrageous crime, you should be sent away, gotten rid of!) *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 440, ELTEK.

Patriarch, even while he carried on a wide and influential correspondence with many noble ladies.³⁶ The 12th rule of the *Spiritual Exercises* equates the Devil with a woman, and Ignatius had once remarked, “From head to foot they are all of them snares for men.”³⁷ Yet far from ignoring or avoiding dangerous and sinful women, some Jesuits seemed preoccupied with them. A variety of insulting terms taken from Classical literature are applied to women villains in the Jesuit writings, among them “Circe” and “Xanthippe.” A loudmouthed blaspheming woman who in 1650 was gored to death by a cow in Uzhorod “shortly” after her outburst, is called a “Hecuba.”³⁸ Jesuit historians and chroniclers also shared the same repugnance towards the bodily effluences of women found in male Medieval Christian writers.³⁹ The first known reference to the infamous crimes of Erzsébet Báthory (1560–1614), a distant cousin of Zsófia and later known as the “blood countess” was published in 1729 by the prolific Ladislaus Turóczi (1682–1765), who had been rector of the Košice community.⁴⁰ The bloody nature of another woman’s affliction (which hints at Levitical regulations regarding the isolation of menstruating women) is stressed in a story from the *Missio Caroliana* of 1650. Here a demon causes bloody fluxions, and blessed salt and a relic of St. Ignatius do not cure her. But in the middle of the night the iron chain on which these objects were suspended is broken and is cast down. The narrative ends without a clear message of victory over the demon—an unusual denouement for an account of Jesuit struggles with the supernatural.⁴¹

The case we have seen in Košice of the “muliercula” shows that even as the misdeeds of students at a Jesuit school were being duly reported, the woman involved (who of course may well have been the actual victim in this instance) could also be branded as immoral. The

³⁶ See *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*.

³⁷ Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, 136.

³⁸ *Annuae Lieterae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.*, 63.

³⁹ Ussher, *Managing the Monstrous Feminine*, 14.

⁴⁰ Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 188–193. A native of Uzhorod, Turóczi among his other assignments along the Habsburg periphery spent fourteen years in Banská Bystrica teaching in the *domus tertiae probationis*. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 371. Turóczi did not fabricate this story which apparently had antecedents in rumors that had long circulated.

⁴¹ *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.*, 86.

relation between at least three of the Society's many responsibilities, to eradicate demonic possession, to combat immorality, and to aid women, was therefore inevitably complicated. Women, their "egregious flaws" and confirmed status as the "imbecilior (weaker) sexus" notwithstanding, could not and should not be eradicated, but at the same time the identification and eradication of demonic influence clarified the moral universe in which Jesuits functioned and the role they had to fulfill within it. Accounts of possessed and exorcised women thereby served as landmarks in the progress of the Jesuits.

Sometimes the theme of the rescued woman could be combined with other themes in a Jesuit narrative. In Uzhhorod in 1769, a Roma man abjured Calvinism and converted to Catholicism. Following in his footsteps, the "more noble part" of his family, his wife and mother, likewise abandoned Calvinism and became Catholic.⁴² By the 1760s, Calvinism had been supplanted as a dominant political force in north-eastern Hungary for a lifetime, although a number of important figures remained loyal to the Reformed Church, a factor that may have played a role in the persisting identification of this Roma family with this by now legally disadvantaged confession. Roma might seem at first glance a population unlikely to embrace the severe and deterministic doctrine of Geneva, but the power of pressure and patronage had caused many Roma in this region to become Calvinists, as evidenced by the many references in Jesuit documents to Calvinist Roma. The motives for the conversion of the two female members of the family are unknown, but the writer of the *Historia Collegii* did not hesitate to apply the gender categories of non-Roma culture to this anecdote, identifying the women as more noble and thereby making the story conform to earlier descriptions of conversions accomplished by Jesuits in Christian families. It is probable that language barriers played some role in the ultimate rendering of this conversion account, both at the point of actual conversion, and in the relaying back to the missionaries what had transpired. Jesuit missionaries would have been most eager to work for the conversion of the two women themselves and probably to accept uncritically the story of their conversion and that of the man. The

⁴² "... memorandus venit zingarus, qui nobiliorem familiae suae partem, conjugem, scilicet, ac matrem, exemplo suo calvinum ejurare docuit." *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 138r, JLB.

identification of the mother and wife as “noble” places them in company of other marginalized women who were guided, either directly or indirectly, to the truth through the proselytizing of Jesuits—and also, indirectly, bestows a rare word of praise for some of the most despised members of Hungarian society.

Whatever the social context, Jesuit records return repeatedly to the theme of triumph over adversity taking the form of adversaries who could be out-debated, exorcised, or neutralized. An encounter with a demon that ended in victory for the Jesuit meant a triumph in the same material world where the Society built churches, staged plays and exercised social control, for the demon could only make his presence known by actions in the material world. Jesuit victory also demonstrated the ability of the Jesuit to exercise influence in the unseen world of the spirit. As we have already seen, demons were among the most important adversaries in a Jesuit narrative. A demon was a reliable foe that could be bested using tried and true techniques, and whose invisible existence and power, unlike the Presence in the Host, was not questioned by Protestant preachers.⁴³ The very means by which “inferi” were contacted and brought into contracts with mortals provided a curious intersection with Jesuit literate culture, since such contracts were often described in the Society’s records as written pacts. A passage in the *Historia Collegii* in Uzhhorod from the year 1749 asserts:

“... inde superstitions seu manifestum sive latens cum inferis pactum continerent exesse [sic] jusserunt; in hac domo indomitas animi cupiditates frangere viros docebant...”⁴⁴

Again we see immorality and demonic forces paired, with the latter overcome once more through the Jesuit efforts.

Single combat with a demon might place the Jesuit in the heroic role of defender of a vulnerable woman (cases of female possession

⁴³ Hungarian Protestants were reported in the 1670s to have proclaimed, “... lieber das Allah, als die Messe und das Wer da.” Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 208.

⁴⁴ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 86v, JLB. “... a pact with demons that existed either openly or secretly was ordered to be destroyed; in this house [the Fathers] taught men to break their indomitable desires.”

appearing in the records of the Austrian Province greatly outnumbered male cases, a pattern found throughout Europe), as the possessor of potent and arcane knowledge, and, as we have seen, as the direct heir to the apostles in the narrative of the New Testament, with its numerous exorcisms and triumphant advance of the Faith. There were other advantages to combat with a demon. A demonic opponent could be opposed mercilessly, unlike human adversaries who, according to the theology of the Jesuits, had to be viewed as beings still potentially capable of receiving salvation and who should be persuaded “suaviter.” Exorcism, involving as it did recitation of oft-repeated lines and deliberative action, could function as another kind of Jesuit theatrical production, a struggle between good and evil in which all the *human* participants were potentially winners. At the same time an exorcism may be regarded as a variation on the “agonistic combat” undertaken between students in the Society’s schools. Exorcism was also a way to impress the clerics of rival confessions, as when Matthias Sámbar cast a demon out of a Romanian (“olah”) and thereby earned the respect of a Calvinist preacher who had previously disparaged the Jesuit’s abilities in this field.⁴⁵ As such, exorcism remained a regular activity of the Society and one which Jesuits anticipated as they entered missionary or pastoral work. Demons were also the unwelcome companions of Jesuits in many other settings, including their own communities. All the same, the presence of such adversaries at times served to validate the Jesuit enterprise.

Those searching for evidence of a more humane Jesuit view of supernatural interventions point to Adam Tanner (1572–1632) and Fridericus Spee (1591–1635), German Jesuits who expressed considerable doubt regarding witchcraft, or at least regarding evidence for witchcraft obtained through torture.⁴⁶ But while from post-Enlightenment hindsight such attitudes among Jesuits working far to the west of Hungary appear progressive, they existed within an institutional climate that completely accepted the idea of demonic possession and the belief that tormenting and expelling such demons was a benefit to the afflicted. What exemplary Jesuits such as Tanner and Spee demonstrate is the

⁴⁵ Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés*, 203.

⁴⁶ Burns, *Witch Hunts in Europe and America*, 305.

capacity of products of Jesuit formation to see these (predominantly) female outcasts as human beings capable of suffering. The certainty of supernatural interventions in the lives of sufferers was never really in question within the culture of the seventeenth century Society. To raise such a question not only would have cast much of what helped define the Jesuit enterprise into doubt, but would have removed a crucial script for interactions between Jesuit and women.

Given many of the other characteristics of Jesuit culture in the Austrian Province in the century leading up to the Suppression, it is no doubt also true that demons played an important role in Jesuit narratives and experiences in part because they had done so in the past narratives of the Society. Not only did Jesuit chroniclers borrow vocabulary and plotlines from their predecessors, but they wrote their narratives within an institution that was increasingly resistant to change and innovation, and which repeated the tried and true. Over time this reliance on interventions such as exorcism placed Jesuits at a disadvantage politically as the lay leadership of the Habsburg lands began to distance itself from supernatural explanations for mental and physical illness. Another difficulty for the Jesuits devoted to the expulsion of demons became apparent as the eighteenth century wore on. The act of exorcism complemented the Society's approach to mission work, a field of creative endeavor where styles rose and fell in popularity. By the mid-1700s the "tastes" of those presented with the mission program were evolving, and techniques that had proven successful decades earlier now seemed stale and dated.⁴⁷ The problem paralleled the growing obsolescence of the *Ratio* curriculum and the refusal of the Society to move beyond the limits of the aesthetic models of a hundred years earlier. In the years immediately before the Suppression Jesuits continued to confront supernatural adversaries with a combination of respect for some of the enduring elements of popular culture and the baroque Latinity which was the Society's principle tool for describing and coping with this culture. And despite changing times, until the very moment of the Society's suppression, for Jesuit chroniclers this combination seemed to bring more success than failure.

⁴⁷ Ward, "An awakened Christianity", 69.

VI

Detrimenta, damna... Prospera et Adversa¹

The first Jesuits to venture into Hungary knew they would face loss, setbacks and even tragedy: their mode of response would in large part determine how their enterprises went forward. Setbacks and challenges took several forms, which seem to have generated differing responses. Related to the wanton destruction of materials that helped support and define Jesuit communities, violations of the space that the Society had tried to identify as its own were another source of sorrow, a misfortune great enough to deserve detailed description by Jesuit writers. The valuable objects owned by Jesuit communities were obvious targets for theft in poverty stricken regions. In 1714 a thief entered the refectory of the Cluj residence and made off with the ewers and wine chalices as well as a cloth that covered the altar.² Beyond the (possibly considerable) monetary loss involved, such an intrusion struck at a deeper level for the territorially conscious Jesuits. This act communicated a lack of respect for the Society's mission, and even more for the metaphysics embedded in the rituals where these objects were used. This final violation may well have been the most painful for the Jesuits, whose mission in the Habsburg East focused on the promotion of the very sacraments celebrated with these stolen objects. Less precious, but still very valuable was the horse stolen by kuruc raiders, followers of Francis II Rákóczi (himself a product of Jesuit training, which was perhaps another source of hurt to the Society) who had arrived on Jesuit property in Cluj in 1710, in the midst of the chaos brought on by the plague.³

¹ Chapter heading, *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1684, Austria 145*, fol. 54r, ARSI.

² *Historia Collegii S. J. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fol. 69r, OSzK.

³ *Historia Collegii S. J. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fol. 47v, OSzK.

The same conflict brought Danish (and therefore presumably Lutheran) mercenaries into the Jesuit residence in Cluj. Such losses and intrusions were blamed neither on Divine action nor on a named human agent, yet Cluj Jesuits remembered how at the start of the seventeenth century their *collegium* library and *residentia* had been sacked by Unitarians and their priests hurled from the windows.

When, during the Seven Years' War, the Jesuit church in Wrocław, located on another Habsburg periphery, was turned into a granary, while the *collegium* in that city was used by the victorious Prussians to house Austrian prisoners of war, a human agent of the violation could be identified.⁴ But no cause or reason could be readily found by the Jesuit authors of the *Historia* of the Cluj *collegium* for the collapse of a house roof sheltering members of a procession driven indoors by a storm (in which a child was killed)⁵ or for the caving in of a parapet around a building. The first Rákóczi rebellion of the 1670s left the region around Satu Mare damaged for years. In 1689 Stephanus Czernatoni wrote, "propter vastata bona per bella Rakócziana, quo tempore etiam expulsi fuerant hinc nostri..." (because of the destruction of our possessions by the wars of Rákóczi, at which time Ours had been expelled...)⁶ Beyond the obvious challenge of coping with the material consequences of these misfortunes, Jesuits had to find a way to explain and understand such events within the larger scheme of the narrative of the Society's triumph and in a way that presented them, if not always entirely logically, at least in a systematic fashion. Institutional memory of course sometimes failed, as when the reasons

⁴ *Lit. An. Prov. Sil.*, 1760, 1948/1046, fol. 92r, AKC, BUW. See also Lec, *Je-
zuici we Wrocławiu*, 41.

⁵ *Historia Collegii S^j. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fol. 44v, OSzK. The previous year Kuruc raiders had made off with cattle valued at 150 Imperials. The community's mill was burnt to the ground in 1706 "ex haeretico odio" (because of the hatred of the heretics). *Historia Collegii S^j. Claudiopoli*, FMI/1608, fol. 66, OSzK. Loss of livestock meant less meat to eat, while the destruction of the mill affected the supply of bread, perhaps including consecrated wafers. The reporting of this loss also provided an opportunity to praise the generosity of donors who helped make up the loss, including the wife of an army captain.

⁶ Letter of Stephanus Czernatoni, Szatmar, 22 March 1698. *Jesuitica ad historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae spectantia*, 118. E. 41, fol. 551r, PFK.

for the expulsion of Father Georgius Jaszberenyi from Uzhhorod 1651 were no longer remembered by a later Jesuit writer.⁷ Misfortunes experienced by individuals, like successes, were inevitably merged into a larger story whose contours were defined by the bureaucratic patterns within the Society and political realities beyond it. When acknowledged, adversity might be expressed in a less immediate fashion through the words of a pagan author; in 1720 the historian of the Uzhhorod community, taking a line attributed to Publius Syrus, observed, “Dulcia non meruit, qui non gustavit amara” (The sweet is not deserved if the appetite has not been ripened by the bitter).⁸

Jesuit records do not lack for references to lawsuits conducted against neighbors. Predictably these neighbors are characterized as malicious and in the wrong; if they could be described as dishonest members of a competing confession, all the better. Occasionally these conflicts appear to originate from competition over scarce resources in an inhospitable environment. The Jesuits of Uzhhorod went to court in 1757 over the violent seizure of lumber from a forest they owned, an incident that pitted the local “provisor” and more than thirty citizens against the Jesuits.⁹ Such struggles, even when they resulted in victory for the Jesuits, not only did not fit into the triumphalist narrative of the Society, but also carried the efforts of the Jesuit community into a setting—civil law—which had been studiously avoided in the curricula of most Jesuit schools and which left little room for the employment of literary and artistic tools at which the Society excelled. When the Jesuit Superior of the community in Satu Mare was accused in 1721 of punishing Protestants not observing holy days with fines and taxes on candles, and even resorting to military force, the complaint found its way into official records, rather than being dismissed out of hand, as might have been the case half a century earlier.¹⁰ The courts remained,

⁷ A probably eighteenth-century list of rectors of the community notes, “P. Georgius Jaszberenyi...1642 qui fuit expulsus an. 1651.” (... who was expelled in the year 1651.) Then, in a different hand, “Per quem?” (By whom?) *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, unnumbered verso of title page, JLB.

⁸ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 37v, JLB.

⁹ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 110v, JLB.

¹⁰ Bartók, “A szatmári és németi ref. egyházak és iskolák története,” 225.

for Habsburg Jesuits, a special and challenging setting in which to wage their struggles.

The majority of the surviving accounts of adversity confronted are the stories of individual Jesuits. Yet the process of the merging of individual experiences of misfortune with the larger narrative of the Society could never include all the subjective recorded experiences of Jesuits. This was both because of the deliberate filtering of information that went into the composition of *Litterae Annuae* as well other circulating documents, but also because the Society's lines of communication included contacts between Jesuits operating in remote and isolated missions and administrators several levels above the Jesuit missionaries' immediate superiors. Even the *praepostius generalis* in far-off Rome received his share of letters detailing the difficulties facing Jesuits in the Habsburg East. Other reports submitted under the heading "Informatio" reveal the basic material difficulties facing Jesuits working in the most remote corners of the Province. Father Gregorius Ramasi was working in "Szatensis" (possibly Satu Mare, where the Society had acquired land in 1634) in 1650, from whence he sent this lament: "Nam inprimis Residentia sit desolatissima. Vineae neglectae, praedium vacuum et ruinosum cupiebant..." (For in a word the Residentia is desolate: vineyards in a state of neglect, and [the officials of the local magnate?] want the manse, which is empty and in ruins...) ¹¹ In some of these communications we see a range of problems described ranging from personal conflicts and tensions arising from the leadership styles of rectors to more generalized complaints about the environment, to the people Jesuits came in contact with and the lack of success experienced in various undertakings, to subjective expressions of frustration with the challenges of daily life. Manpower shortages were chronic, made worse in part by mortality due to the plague. Gabriel Ivul wrote in 1660 that missionary sorties from Košice were hampered by the lack of Jesuits available. ¹² As the Society's communities became better established, the importance of maintaining herds of livestock grew; these were vulnerable to many diseases and losses often figured in reports of "damna." Similarly food and drink produced

¹¹ *Informatio de statu Transylvaniae et spe conversionis. Missio Hungarica 1607–1633 et Transilvanica 1570–1650, Austria 20*, fol. 360r, ARSI.

¹² Letter of 25 January 1660, Cassoviae, *Aust. 21*, fols. 317r–318r, ARSI.

by the community might be in short supply. In the dead of winter, Nicolaus Szecheni, while noting that the cold weather had brought the combat of two Transylvanian princes to a halt, also acknowledged “panis et vini penuria laboramus” (we labor under a shortage of bread and wine).¹³ More widespread and multiple misfortunes striking the larger community affected Jesuits as well. A devastating fire that consumed two thousand houses in Cluj in 1662 took place, the Jesuit chronicler noted, in the midst of a “promiscue exorta persecutio” (persecution that has arisen from throughout the town) of Catholics, one of whose houses was the starting point of the fire.¹⁴ The backdrop to these difficulties, addition to the specter of the plague which never receded entirely, was the continual threat of famine, which persisted well into the eighteenth century and which caused the entire culture in which the Society operated to be under perpetual stress, elements of which were continually employed by the Society’s writers to further the narrative of adversity overcome. In Transylvania a few decades earlier, the hardships faced by Stephanus Kornis were readily fashioned into an account that turned him into a hero: Born of a most illustrious family (which never hurt) Kornis faced the shadows of the night, the plots of non-Catholics, and ultimately, the punishment of exile, while remaining true to the customs of his homeland.¹⁵ Taking up the theme of constancy and fortitude from a somewhat different perspective, the writer of the obituary of Martinus Zeller (1629–1663) emphasized the future priest’s tender youth when he was put to the test in Buda, whence he had been brought “per Turcarum manus.” “Contra omnes sive minas, sive promissiones” (despite all threats and promises), the adolescent’s “unbroken constancy” and the protecting hand of God kept Martinus from abandoning his faith.¹⁶ Here we may find echoes of the youthful strength of St. Stanislaus Kostka (1550–1568), who, we are told,

¹³ Letter of Nicolaus Szecheni, Ungvariensis 2 January 1660, *Aust.* 21, fol. 370r, ARSI.

¹⁴ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1662, *Aust.* 142, fol. 166r, ARSI. The Jesuits were themselves rumored to have started the fire.

¹⁵ Nilles *Symbolae*, 131. Kornis also taught in what was at the time the peripheral community of Bratislava. Lukács, *Catalogii*, II, 648; Orgona, “A gönc-ruszkai Kornisok. Két generáció túlélési stratégiái.” doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/orgona/disszert.pdf, 191.

¹⁶ *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms. I, Ab 139, fol. 194, ELTEK.

withstood the beatings administered by his brother who was angered by the former's piety.¹⁷

Contrasting with these heroic reports, issues involving the conduct and to some extent, the mental attitude of specific Jesuits, litter the correspondence coming from Hungary. An unnamed *coadjutor temporalis* was the subject of a debate as to his fitness to continue in the Society in 1672: "... hominem ... neglectum religiosae disciplinae..." (...a man...who has neglected his religious discipline...).¹⁸ In the changes of course from priestly formation, to preparation as a *coadjutor temporalis* we may also see hints of men in situations that were frustrating and unproductive for them. Dissatisfactions with community leadership and conflicts between individuals are only occasionally alluded to and generally in an oblique fashion, while the dramatic if rare incidents of desertion from a position of responsibility are reminders that as with any organization a certain percentage of Jesuits were frustrated and restless.

Documentation of this kind cannot be easily quantified, and it is risky to extend generalizations too far from the seemingly unsystematic preservation in Rome of letters and reports from the Habsburg East. But the tone and number of these references to adversity do suggest that the institutional culture of the Society, significantly, did not seek to repress the expression of subjective experiences of individual Jesuits. In fact the provisions in the Society's *Constitutions* encouraged the conveying of subjective impressions to the highest level of the hierarchy. But as we have seen, this freedom of expression was tempered by the forms in which experience had already been communicated, by the expectations and norms of conduct among Jesuits, and by fluid immediate conditions existing around the writers.

But if the narratives of success and failure generated by Jesuits in the Habsburg East provide a fragmentary glimpse into the lives of Jesuits, they are also notable for what they do not address. Scientific investigations, descriptions of local cultures, and linguistic studies, all mainstays of Jesuit writings of the period, do not form an important part of this corpus. The practical demands of extending and solidifying the position of the Roman Church took precedence over everything else.

¹⁷ Kostka, a great favorite of Jesuit playwrights and artists, was canonized in 1726.

¹⁸ Letter to Adam Aboët, Tyrnaviae, 11 June 1672, *Aust.* 81, fol. 657, ARSI.

The Habsburg East included a frontier between two worlds of literacy, but not one that, even late in the day, challenged Jesuits intellectually.¹⁹ The accomplishments of Jesuit historians active in the Habsburg region were, right up until the Suppression, largely oblivious to the Romanian Orthodox cultural tradition. Moreover the engagement of Jesuits with Eastern Rite Christianity is similarly devoid of a significantly spiritual element. Likewise the well-known Jesuit penchant for observing and recording details of the societies in which Jesuits worked is notably missing from the Jesuit corporate culture of the Austrian Province. Taken collectively the total number of books in the libraries of Jesuit *residentiae* in the eighteenth century was very impressive, between 60,000 and 70,000 volumes, but was lacking in works that addressed the cultures of the Habsburg East, a pattern that did not change in the years before the Suppression.²⁰ As the trials of the Košice Jesuit community demonstrated, the Society could not do everything everywhere, and when hard pressed, held firm to schooling, printing and missionary work. Over time, daring was replaced by repetition, exploration by caution.

But this gradual change in tone did little to alter the likelihood of misfortune visiting individual Jesuits or entire communities. The hardships and difficulties faced by Nicolaus Janossi (–1741), *theologus* to the Transylvanian Uniate bishop, could have been those of a century earlier, or some decades later: “...quantas cum rudi popello exhaurire molestias necessum fuerit, donec Mercurios e rudi ligno qualescunque effingeret...” (... which harassment he was compelled to endure, until he erected several monuments [?] out of rough hewn wood...).²¹ The Jesuit experience of loss and destruction could come in variations from the ones just mentioned. Themes that seemed to come from Jesuit accounts of distant journeys to the “Indies” could crop up in chronicles

¹⁹ Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture*, 207.

²⁰ This estimate is based on materials seized from the 33 *collegia* and *residentiae* of Hungary in 1773. Fabian, *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, 30.

²¹ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 541; see also Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 161. DuCange describes a “Mercurius” as “lapidum congeries in cacumine collium.” But see also the saying, sometimes attributed to Pythagoras, “Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.” That is, “Not every mind will answer equally well to be trained into a scholar.”

of the Austrian Province. The highlands of Royal Hungary might seem an unlikely place for a shipwreck, but Father Simon Szél (c.1602–1655) experienced just that when the boat he was traveling on while on his second missionary tour struck a bridge across the Váh river in Trenčín.²² Dominicus Lango (1635–1697) made a longer, if less voluntary voyage than had Szél. Captured by the Turks, Lango was carried off to Constantinople, where he suffered from thirst and was subjected to beatings for two years.²³ The events described in these and other Jesuits' obituaries undoubtedly were perceived to have taken place as described, but the attractive power of already existing narratives of exploits further from Europe drew the emphases of the Hungarian accounts in slightly different directions. While the Far East could offer exotic settings in which to frame Jesuit accomplishments, and the Paraguayan Reductions were long a living example of a successful republic managed by the Society, after the conquest of the Danube Basin Hungary could not function as the stage of either of Jesuit martyrdom or of brilliant triumphs of surviving Jesuits.

Instead Jesuit schools were on occasion the cradles of ethnic rivalries. The eighteenth century saw an unseemly conflict over the early history of the Danube Basin between Michael Bencsik (1670–1728), a product of Jesuit schools, and Ján Balthazár Magin (1681–1735), who had studied at the *Pazmaneum* and had spent time at the Trenčín novitiate.²⁴ Although the institutions begun by the Society remained in place, the urgency of the confessional competition waned as other preoccupations began to appear on the horizon of intellectual elites. The hardships of teaching and pastoral work in a poor, pre-industrial society of course did not disappear. At the same time the meager number of conversions reported from the 1720s onward and the rapid decay of religious commitment that the traveling Jesuit missions seemed

²² *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I. Ab 140, fol. 313, ELTEK.

²³ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I. Ab 140, fol. 97, ELTEK. The Society produced other martyrs in the Ottoman capital: many French Jesuits died of the plague there. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 970.

²⁴ Bartl et al. *Slovak History*, 260–261; Špetko, “The Development of Scholarship and Science in Slovakia,” 295; Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, i, 809–810; *Slovník Slovenských Spisovateľov*, 290; *Dejiny Slovenska*, ii, 416. See also Chapter XI footnote 104.

to be able to inspire among laypersons together paint a picture of an organization unable to either rise to its earlier heroic heights or develop a new *modus operandi* to advance its goals. “Detrimenta” might be balanced by material gains elsewhere, but there remained the constant possibility of loss from a number of unexpected directions.

In 1702, before the Rákóczi rebellion had been launched but when resentments among locals were already very high, a band of residents whom believed they were owed money by the Jesuits descended on the Uzhhorod *residentia*: “Nocte 12a diei Febr.: Mensis fures scalis transcendentis Collegii cincturam intrarunt cubiculum absentis R.P. Rectoris cistamque templi efferentes in superiori ambitu perfringentes, cum in illa speratas pecunias n^o reperissent, relictis tota templi argentaria dispersa recesserunt. Haec erat fortuna in infortunia” (During the night of 12 February thieves entered the perimeter and ascended the wall of the College with ladders; then they entered the room of the absent Rector and carried off the strongbox of the church, breaking it open while on the upper passageway. When they did not find the hoped cash, they left, after scattering the Communion vessels about. This was good fortune in misfortune).²⁵ The Jesuits naturally felt the violence of such intrusions while simultaneously and perhaps not surprisingly failing to appreciate fully the larger context of stored up resentments, ethnic tensions and inter-confessional hatreds. The achievements of some Jesuit scholars suggest that this gap in understanding lessened in the final decades of the Society’s presence in the region, but such evidence is far from complete or absolute.

But of all the tales of difficult and hardship, the most prized in the Society’s culture was the account of physical danger confronted and overcome, variations of which we have encountered throughout this book. A final example of this type of encounter with adversity illustrates some of the more subtle points of such stories. An unnamed Jesuit was seized in the Tokaj region by rebels and subjected to the “ice ordeal”: He was left up to his waist in freezing water while being subjected to taunts and sarcastic renderings of Catholic liturgy. A commander of Turkish troops whose presence at these events is not explained, cries out, asking whether the Jesuit should be executed. Yet the

²⁵ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 28r, JLB.

Jesuit survived and was released on 5 February 1672.²⁶ While other “satisfactory outcomes” might have resulted, this story demonstrated Divine providence and left open the possibility (at least in the reader’s interpretation) of further service to the greater glory of God by the survivor. Contrasted with the episode of the violent intrusion of thieves of Uzhorod the survival of this Jesuit captures the desired narrative arc of the Society’s work in Hungary: thorough perils and abuse, to victory.

²⁶ Krones, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns*, 95.

VII

Theatre and Suffering

Most of us find it very hard to believe that we could ever have enjoyed the spectacle of a public execution. But before we start to congratulate ourselves on our finer feelings, let us remember, first, that we have never been permitted to see an execution and, second, that when executions were public, a hanging seemed as attractive as a Punch and Judy show, while a burning was the equivalent of a Bayreuth Festival or an Oberammergau Passion Play—a great event for which it was worthwhile to make long and expensive pilgrimages.

Aldous Huxley

To twenty-first-century eyes, the entire landscape of baroque culture seems like a theatre. Architecture and landscaping, the representation of secular and ecclesiastical power through a combination of classical allusion and expanded medieval heraldry,¹ the carefully composed genre of emblematics,² the theatrical framing of rhetorical compositions, and even the employment of visually arresting chronographs in

¹ The highly developed use of this symbolism by the House of Austria during this period is explored in Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*.

² The literature on Jesuit emblematics is extensive. A good point of introduction is Daly and Dimmler, *The Jesuit Series*. A very late example of baroque emblematics produced on the Habsburg periphery is Joannes Gyologi, *Emblemata et variae Inscriptiones anno Jubileo Missionis S. J. Maros-Vasarhelyensis* (Claudiopoli, 1750).

documents and architectural inscriptions:³ each has unmistakable elements of dramatic presentation, and, sensing this relationship, the Society even described the setting of its mission enterprises in Upper Hungary as a “theatrum,” while students receiving degrees at the Jesuit university in Trnava were assured that “science opens for you a *theatrum gloriae*.”⁴ Historical events could be understood as a series of *theatra* and a Jesuit play performed in Cluj in 1641 dealing with the exploits of the Maccabees could be entitled “Theatrum Fortitudinis.”⁵ Jesuit explorers of the vast *theatrum* of Asia undertook their journeys after consulting atlases that they self-consciously called “Theatra Mundi” while war against the Turks might be set in a “Martis Theatro.”⁶

³ Although chronographs are not unique to Jesuit baroque culture, they are a highly characteristic and visible creative act of the Jesuits, seamlessly combining text and visual patterns and appealing to the reader/viewer’s sophistication and alertness. While best known as inscriptions on public buildings, chronographs also adorn unpublished Jesuit documents, multiplying the meanings to be decoded from them and adding an additional aesthetic dimension to reading. An example, spelling the date in Roman numerals: “Confectus Anno ab InCarnatIone DoMInICa 1704,” from the list of books in the library of the Turóc Jesuit residence, 1704, in Farkas, Monok, Pozsár and Varga, *Magyarországi Jezsuita Könyvtárak 1711-ig I*, 249; also *Annuae Residentiae Alba Iuliensis anno 1715*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 4v, BB. For another example, see ch.8, p. 194 [text to fn 83]

⁴ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fol. 13, ELTEK; *Meteora rationibus et experiētiis physicis illustrata authore R. P. Gabriele Hevenesy...*, unnumbered page. On a single day in the Spiš region in 1651, a seriously ill young girl’s life was spared, and a woman who prepared to go into the countryside to work on a feast day was struck dead in her home. The writer of the *Annuae Literae* called the day a “misericordiae et irae theatrum.” “*Literae Annuae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LI.*,” 28. Ladislaus Turóczi, describing the atrocious conduct of Countess Erzsébet Báthory (1560–1614), wrote “Hi specus, infamia crudelis tragediae sunt theatra.” (These depths, these disgraces of cruel tragedies, are theatra) Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 188–189. Jean Joseph Surin, the Jesuit connected with the exorcism of nuns in Loudon, expressed the essence of this baroque concept when he wrote of the “theatre that is possession.” Sluhovsky, *Believe not Every Spirit*, 156.

⁵ Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, i, 242–243.

⁶ Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travelers in Central Asia: 1603–1721*, 13. In particular the term *Theatrum mundi* was applied to the *Theatrum* of Ortelius of Antwerp, published in 1570. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 357. See also the discussion of Jesuit-produced books entitled *Theatrum mundi* and

Condemned rebel prisoners met their fate in Košice “in publici fori theatro.”⁷ Even the space before an altar to St. Francis Xavier might, through its role as a formalized public display intended to provoke a specific reaction from viewers, be designated by Jesuit writers as a “theatrum.”⁸ Each Baroque performance or presentation seems calculated to produce an affective or sensory response to some implied meaning or message greater than the concrete content of the thing displayed. At times the intent of Baroque expression may even seem to be to distract the recipient of the vision from consciousness of the actual significance of the message. At other times Baroque presentations offer multiple messages about their origins, while some have seen this appeal to the sensory and emotional as a deliberate strategy to conceal weakness and uncertainty. Writing about the baroque art of Romania, Edgar Papa observed

Baroque existence adopts a defensive position of an altogether special kind, defence [sic] through an explosion of splendor as a substitute for real power. Hence the glorious splendor of the Baroque style.⁹

Baroque splendor could not only conceal the weakness of its originators, it could compensate for this weakness by rearranging power relations among producer, viewer, and performer, taking control of the *theatrum* and defining how the sensory elements of this display might be experienced. Baroque rhetoric, a Jesuit specialty, could be employed to praise or blame, and thus could affect these power relations.¹⁰ Baroque Jesuit dramas, such as *Pietas Victrix*, performed in Vienna in 1659, reified the connections between the Habsburg dynasty, the Society, and the noble audience, whose religious aspirations were given visible form.¹¹ By creating the circumstances that require the audience to encounter the Baroque event from a specific point of view, the

Theatrum vitae humanae in Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 97; and Timon et al., *Epitome Chronologica*, 266 [1686].

⁷ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1673, Austria 143*, fol. 54v, ARSI.

⁸ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 155v, [13 August 1697], MOL.

⁹ Quoted in Treptow, ed., *A History of Romania*, 197.

¹⁰ Aercke, *Gods of Play*, 59.

¹¹ Skrine, *The Baroque*, 61–62.

stagers of such Baroque spectacles carried the manipulation of such encounters forward to a point perhaps never achieved in earlier centuries. Yet despite the high visibility of productions such as *Pietas Victrix* within the secular community, it is noteworthy how little emphasis the Society's records place on the production of staged dramas in smaller communities. The authors and directors of these plays are almost always anonymous, and the plays themselves not infrequently referred to only in very general terms, and even plot summaries are very hard to come by. Among the Jesuit playwrights of seventeenth century Hungary we know the name of Father Franciscus Dedinski (1639–1671), who seems to have produced plays during his brief tenure (1659) in Rožňava.¹² The obituaries of the creators of other school dramas, who must have numbered in the scores, are overwhelmingly silent on this aspect of their apostolic work. The generally low status of the playwright throughout Europe prior to the great dramas of Molière and Corneille may be a factor in this lack of identification of Jesuit playwrights. In fact Jesuit drama always served an ancillary role to the more central undertakings of propagation of religious truths and the construction of educational and communication networks.

Other kinds of outdoor spectacles staged by the Jesuits and involving laypersons likewise did not have acknowledged authors or identified “producers” but they receive far more attention in the Society's records, which suggests the ultimate priorities of the administrators of the Austrian Province. Specifically, public spectacle involving human beings, a subset of what can be called somewhat imprecisely the “Baroque style,” was employed by temporal and religious authorities to capture the attention and transform the understanding, not merely of the poor and untutored, but also of the powerful and lettered observer. Truth, virtue, and piety were explicated, not through rational argumentation as in the competitions prescribed by the *Ratio*, but through the employment of splendor, novelty, and potent symbolism. These

¹² *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 288, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, IV, 184. Wolfgangus Rauner (1667–1714) produced plays in Braşov, Transylvania, but their titles and dates are not known. *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Kap. A Tomus V, fol. 289, ELTEK. Adam Fitter, a versatile Jesuit active in Cluj, wrote “Corona Regni Ungariae Admirabilis” sometime before 1712. Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, i, 131.

productions might involve manipulation by those “offstage,” and even the apparent participants in such public performances might not be the originators of the event or might not even fully comprehend the impact they had on others as they performed their roles. Flagellant processions of laypersons staged by Jesuits are an example of such spectacles aimed at a wide audience and which required careful staging to pull off.¹³ Some of these performances rank among the most elaborate ever undertaken by the Society in Hungary. In Timișoara, during Holy Week in 1727, Jesuit-led penitents paraded through the streets lugging eight crosses and flagellating themselves with star-shaped scourges. Youths carried vessels filled with warm water to wash blood from the penitents’ wounds.¹⁴ The participants in these processions, focused as they no doubt were on their own actions and suffering, may not have appreciated the degree to which they were part of a “performance.”

The intent behind such public performances was to change or deepen the viewer’s understanding of virtue and right action, and to provide a living and easy to comprehend example of each. Connections to the Passion of Christ and to the suffering of earlier martyrs were also implicit, if not set forth overtly, in these acts. Such public acts of penance of course involved the participants directly in a linking of spirituality and physicality that some would have already encountered when they had undertaken the *Spiritual Exercises* under the direction of a Jesuit.¹⁵ And all such public performances had the added consequence of potentially validating the viewer’s—and the performer’s—subjective, internal, and emotional responses, not just to the staged events taking

¹³ Châtellier, *The Religion of the Poor*, 70. Such public displays were one of the first activities Jesuit organized for laypersons. In Sopron, the Marian Congregation staged a flagellant procession sometime after 1640, perhaps during the time of plague. Bán, *Győr egyházmegye múltjából*, 206. Public displays of asceticism involving hair shirts, the dragging of rocks or beams, and penitents wrapped in chains or ropes took place in Uzhhorod as late as 1733. *Historia Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 58r, JLB.

¹⁴ Böhm, *Déli-Magyarország*, 15. Notably, soldiers were forbidden to engage in these performances.

¹⁵ For example, laypersons were guided through the *Exercises* in Uzhhorod in 1753. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 100v, JLB. By the eighteenth century the *Exercises* had been translated into German and were circulating in the Habsburg lands.

place before his eyes but arguably all other experiences as well. Thus public acts of penance opened the door to a more generalized acceptance of one's affective relations to the physical world. To what degree the Jesuits who preached, wrote, and created art and theorized about its significance consciously understood the broader consequences of this validation is not clear at all. But on a more immediate level Jesuit teachers, playwrights, missionaries and directors of sodalities,¹⁶ (often the same person in the Habsburg East) seemed well aware of how the drawing in of both audience and participants into a deeper engagement with the sensory produced heightened excitement and feelings of connection for all concerned, including the Jesuits themselves.

Yet the uncritical employment of the potent power of engagement with the sensory could have troubling side effects. Jesuit-sponsored sodalities made up of students in the Society's schools also promoted solitary acts of self-mortification that could attract public attention and were sometimes taken to horrific or even life-threatening extremes.¹⁷

¹⁶ Marian congregations flourished until a relatively late date in Hungary and were a particular interest of the seventeenth-century Habsburgs; Ferdinand II signed his name "virgineus cliens" (one humbly dependent on the Virgin). Wodka, *Kirche in Österreich*, 245. Students from the Habsburg East fortunate enough to continue their educations in Rome at the Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum could join a Marian congregation there. Bitskey, *Hungariából Rómába*, 107.

¹⁷ The Sodality of the Annunciation of the Virgin in Homonna encouraged young men to plunge themselves into ice or snow "until the fires of Venus were extinguished." Krones, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn seit dem Linzer Frieden," 344–345, citing *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.*, no page number given. A comparison may be made with the martyrdom of Didacus Carvallius in a frozen pond, illustrated in Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinem*, 313. On other occasions deliberate self-mutilation occurred and was reported approvingly by Jesuit writers. In 1701, the Feast of the Visitation in Uzhhorod was "flagellacione cruenta (with bloody importunate requests) fit celebrata." *Historia Collegii Vnghvariensis* fol. 27v, JLB. At times military commanders forbade their soldiers to engage in these practices, fearing the harm that might come to their troops. The emblems of St. Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1593), a saint promoted among the student sodalities, included, along with a lily and a crucifix, instruments of self-mortification; although this saint only practiced this discipline in private, a significant difference from the context of these public self-mutilations. Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints*, 7; Haliczzer, *Sexuality in the Confessional*, 176.

Such performances, if they may be so called, were undertaken within the framework of the sacrament of penance, which some believed could purify even mortal sins, meaning that for both the performers and the viewers, a great deal was at stake.¹⁸ Among the other elements that were most likely present in such performances were adolescent bravado (and perhaps self-destructive tendencies as well), sexual arousal, a desire to emulate Jesuit personalities extolled in art and preaching, and the climate of agonistic competition we have already encountered in the Society's schools. And certainly for many a personal identification with the Passion of Christ also entered into the proceedings. Each of these elements would have interacted with the others when the excitement of a public confession reached its peak. The recollection of previous performances and the excitement they had generated were also present as a new confession or demonstration of penance unfolded. Like Jesuit school dramas, these performances were individual occurrences, while at the same time because of their shared features, each earlier event exerted a cumulative impact on new performances, which, in spite of its obvious theological elements, had a deeply ingrained social component as well.¹⁹

Other performances made by Jesuits themselves were at times slightly less exposed to the public eye, but nevertheless felt powerfully throughout a Jesuit community. Christopher Rotter, who died caring for plague victims during the epidemic of 1679, took asceticism to remarkable extremes even by baroque standards. Rotter's career as a religious was an unusual one. Having joined the Society at thirty (the details of Rotter's earlier, secular life are not known) he then left it, and later he sought admission to the Camaldolese order, known for its isolation and austerities, but left "tamdiu malacia destitutus," (abandoned for a long while in deadly silence) and sought readmission to the Jesuits. Finally "formatus" as a *coadjutor temporalis* at the ripe age of 66, Rotter undertook a regimen of scourging and a diet of bread and water.²⁰ By the time of his death his ongoing performance had come to define both his own identity within the community and a model of publicized virtue for others to follow. These behaviors became the

¹⁸ Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 101.

¹⁹ Bossy, "A Social History of Confession," 22–23.

²⁰ *Elogia Defunctorum IX*, Ms. I, Ab 145, fol. 378, ELTEK.

substance of how Rotter was remembered (with obvious approval), and to a large degree, how the story of his life was integrated into the narrative of the Austrian Province.²¹ An even more extreme case of bodily mortification was recorded in the obituary of Emericus Bakaj (1676–1713), a veteran of service in Alba Iulia, Baia Mare and Košice, and remembered as an “inutilium colloquiorum osor” (despiser of useless chatter) who would beat himself bloody.²² That so much attention was given to Rotter’s ascetic behavior after his re-entry into the Society, or to Bakaj’s seemingly un-Jesuit dislike of conversation may mean that their actions were relatively uncommon among Jesuits, but it is equally clear that to some degree they represented a model of performance worth emulating. Rotter’s private acts of penance (and Bakaj’s unsociability) thus developed a social dimension within the community where they lived.²³ What Jesuit chroniclers called “privati Athletae” were in fact not entirely private in their actions, but once acknowledged in obituaries or other permanent documents became part of the larger culture of both the community, and ultimately of the entire province.²⁴ The reporting of such an instance of exceptional conduct as Rotter’s as an expression of corporate culture can be seen as a characteristic of the Baroque Society, although the inclusion of details of the “good death” of a brother or priest leaves the reader wondering how

²¹ Even a Jesuit with as many other very visible accomplishments to his credit as Matthias Sámbar was closely identified with his self-mortification practices. After his death it was recalled how he had been overheard flagellating himself in his cell. *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fols. 277–280, ELTEK.

²² *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Collectio Kaprinayana. A, Tomus V, fol. 199, ELTEK. By contrast the *coadjutor temporalis* Michael Götz (–1671) was renowned for his *pia colloquia* “which instilled a horror of sin and a love of virtue” in his listeners. *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 58, ELTEK.

²³ In a similar fashion the collective decisions of members of a sodality to abstain individually and thus often privately from meat or wine helped define the sodality. *Annuae Residentiae Soc’tis Iesu Albensis 1765*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 75r, BB.

²⁴ Thus in the obituary of Father Nicolaus Gyurchani (c. 1639–1679) we read “inter privatos athletas qui cognito contagionis periculo...” (amidst demanding privations, he, who knew the danger of the plague...) *Elogia Defunctorum VI*, Ms. I, Ab 142, fol. 221, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, VI, 689.

exceptional such a death was, or whether it was simply easier to report such a fact than to delve into the more complex and perhaps ambiguous facts of a man's life.²⁵

Many other public spectacles involving the Society, such as the burning of playing cards and other "vanities," less explicitly freighted with either the issues of forgiveness of the mortal sins of the audience or physical risks to the participants, can still be legitimately called varieties of Jesuit penitential theatre. The burning of heretical books in Bohemia was another public display undertaken by Jesuits, although this particular performance did not seem as necessary in Hungary where there were far fewer heretical books to worry about and fewer urban centers where sizable crowds might gather to watch.²⁶ Whatever the object being exhibited and destroyed, these performances involved carefully controlled, even scripted roles for the participants and even for the audience within a political or civil context.²⁷ Like the Society's school dramas, the destruction of "vanities" or heretical and "superstitious" materials provided its audience with entertainment or even voyeuristic thrills, while giving the Jesuits the chance to present themselves as promoters and arbiters of morality. Such performances also might address the needs of the laypersons who committed their belongings to the flames: these could range from exhibitionism to the desire to break irreversibly with some behavior or association, to the need to respond to pressures to confess and repent being placed upon them by the Jesuit promoters of these events—and perhaps by their peers as well. It is worth recalling that Jesuits who urged laypersons to resist temptation and reject sin spoke from the context of a Society that acknowledged the temptations that its own members faced. In addition to the examples of temptation we have seen where the narrative has focused on the

²⁵ Thus Woffgangus Pergstaller, "tyroliensis," was reported to have died such a "bona mors" in Trnava in 1650, but little else is recorded about him. *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu anni 1650*, 106.

²⁶ See Shore, "Antonín Koniáš."

²⁷ Such a bonfire of the vanities, in this case in the streets of sixteenth century Toledo and overseen by the Jesuit Roderigus Ninino Guzman, is portrayed in Tanner, Mathias, *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix*, 578. Despite the context of penance, the gentlemen assisting Guzman are portrayed as poised, erect, and elegant and function as the center of this illustration, suggesting a dimension to these public performances involving social class.

actions of the tempter (or temptress) we have seen the cases where the personal struggles of the tempted Jesuit are mentioned in his obituary. Thus the public spectacle and theatrical repudiation of sin by laypersons among its other functions also could mirror the inward struggles of Jesuits.

Other spectacles, such as publicly staged executions, were not initiated by the Society, but could be utilized by Jesuits to drive home moral and theological points. Howard Louthan, referencing Johan Huizinga, notes how in the seventeenth century public executions, which had long functioned as “spectacular plays with morals,” became even more elaborate and dramatic in the Habsburg realms,²⁸ while Richard Van Dülmen points out that the execution of a miscreant was a “celebration of religious sacrifice of a repentant sinner.”²⁹ As a pedagogical tool and as “spectacular plays” staged by a regime striving to drive home moral messages, the punishment of a miscreant was among the most memorable events in the life of a community. And as demonstrations of the puissance of what many regarded as an occupying power, executions came to function as defining moments in seventeenth century Hungarian civil and religious history, furnishing both a heroic narrative of national (and especially aristocratic) resistance to the Habsburgs as well as an emotional intensity to the struggle between Protestants and Catholics.³⁰ Not coincidentally, the execution of those challenging Habsburg authority was also visible testimony of the victorious power of that authority, which was so closely associated with the Society.

From a very different perspective, public executions also played a key role in several aspects of Jesuit literature and visual culture. Here the virtue of the condemned Christian hero of ancient or more modern times was highlighted against the disorder and depravity of the pagan tyrant and the brutality of the executioner. Thus Jesuit school plays often had as their centerpiece the public martyrdom of a faithful Christian of the early Church; such dramas were presented in Uzhhorod in

²⁸ Louthan, *Converting*, 22ff.

²⁹ Van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 3. Thanks to László Kontler for suggesting this reference.

³⁰ Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court and Aristocracy*, ii, 28.

1734 and in Banská Štiavnica in 1766.³¹ The execution or other form of martyrdom of Jesuits in more modern times was commemorated repeatedly in Tanner's *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem*, whose images became iconic renderings of Jesuit devotion and sacrifice, as well as functioning as classic depictions of the almost subhuman "other," the essential villain in the drama who might be European or not.³² Supplementing the accounts of martyrdom through public execution were the accounts of the deaths of Jesuits in less formally structured settings; the obituary of Joannes Simonides provides a literally "blow by blow" account of his ambush and death in the mountains of Royal Hungary that could be visualized by the reader, exactly as someone undertaking the *Spiritual Exercises* would visualize the life of Christ.³³ The resemblance between simulated and real executions could become even greater when Jesuit plays were staged outdoors. A production of "Sanctus Joannes Baptista" was in fact staged in the public square of Banská Bystrica in 1662, only a few years before the execution of rebels in the same place.³⁴

As we have seen, Jesuits were present at the real-life public executions of criminals, an aspect of their apostolic service that was regarded

³¹ "Lucillus Martyr," and "Julius Martyr," Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 206; ii, 364. The relative paucity of new martyr saints (as opposed to apostolic saints such as Ignatius and Xavier) dating from more recent centuries encouraged the Society's reliance on plotlines from late Antiquity.

³² The popularity of Tanner's work in Central Europe, especially, is demonstrated by its translation in German: *Die Gesellschaft Jesu biss zur vergiessung ihres Blutes...* (Prag: In der Carlo-Fernandeischen Buchdruckerey, 1683). Another contemporaneous work offering images of Jesuits martyred for the faith was F. García, *Istoria della conversione alla Nostra Santa Fede dell' isole Mariane* (Napoli: Camillo Cauallo e Michele Luigi Mutij, 1686).

³³ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fols.13–14, ELTEK. Father Stanislaus Rapal (1640–1708), while not a member of the Austrian Province, entered the annals of local Jesuit history in much the same way. Cut down by kuruc rebels on the frontier of Hungary and Moravia, he sustained no less than 23 pistol, saber, lance and bayonet wounds. Rapal's body lay uncorrupted for 12 days (according to some accounts, with a smile on its face). de Guilhermy, *Ménologue*, 423.

³⁴ Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 323. Protestant "magistri" derided the production, but according to the Jesuit account their audacity was confounded.

as important enough to warrant illustration in one of the accounts of Jesuit sojourns in Asia.³⁵ The presence of a Jesuit in the cell or on the scaffold with the condemned (who in the records of the Society not infrequently was a woman) is a commonplace in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province and in other records of the Society, while deliverance from prison was a popular theme of Jesuit dramas.³⁶ In a characteristic encounter in Târgu Mureş on 28 May 1737, the Father Superior of the local Jesuit community comforted a woman condemned to death in her cell.³⁷

In such instances it was hoped that the prisoner would convert and repent, while the recorded act of Jesuit service “in carceribus” (in prisons) was itself evidence of the moral athleticism cultivated by the Society.³⁸ Details often lacking in other reports of Jesuit activities are given when the Fathers ventured into prisons; the importance of this apostolic work for the self-perception of the Society was very great.³⁹ The *Diarium* of the Levoča *collegium* contains references to Jesuits not only visiting the local jail, and interceding to gain the release of prisoners but also gaining prisoners a stay of execution (“p’longationem vitae”).⁴⁰ In fact conversions frequently did take place,⁴¹ although the occasions when the prisoner rejected the entreaties of the Jesuit attending him

³⁵ A Jesuit is shown attending to a condemned prisoner in a vaguely Asiatic setting in Avril, *Voyage en divers etats*, 231.

³⁶ As early as 1601 a play entitled “Joseph e carcere liberatus” was staged in Šafa nad Vahom. Bayer, *A magyar drámairodalom története*, ii, 385.

³⁷ *Diarium Missionis Societatis Iesu Residentiae Maros-Vasarhelyensis*, Szentiványi 691, fol. 191v, BB.

³⁸ In 1773, the following communities in Hungary and Transylvania had at least one Jesuit serving “in carceribus”: Banská Bystrica, Cluj, Trnava, Uzhhorod, Prešov, Sibiu, Oradea, Timișoara, Liptovský Mikuláš and Târgu Mureş. Szilas, “A jezsuiták Magyarországon 1773-ban,” 73–74.

³⁹ Thus we learn that in Levoča the two prisoners freed through the efforts of a Jesuit were “Germanos” and spent the night in the *collegium*, and that six months later a “puella” also gained her freedom “ad intercession’ nostra” *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fols. 128v [21 November 1696] and 148v [31 May 1697], MOL.

⁴⁰ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis* P. 478, fol. 357v [31 August 1703], ELTEK.

⁴¹ A Calvinist “rebel” condemned to “supplicium ad palum” was converted in Sárospatak in 1676. *Lit. An. 1676, Aust. 143*, fol. 84v, ARSI.

or her were also remembered and recorded by the Society.⁴² Unanticipated “side effects” of Jesuit ministry in prison might also happen, although the credulity of the reader of the *Litterae Annuae* can be tested by some of these accounts. In Uzhhorod, a troubled Calvinist youth in jail declared that he would rather make supplications to demons than to the Jesuits (the accused and condemned in Jesuit narratives have the habit of speaking in the “I would rather... than ever...” formula). Sometime later he hanged himself, but the composer of the account noted that his distraught mother at least found solace in the Catholic faith.⁴³ Jesuits also concerned themselves with prisoners they had never set eyes on, and with members of their own Society languishing in jails. An anonymous Jesuit in 1652 lamented the demands of the Turks who wanted 7000 Imperials, or a Jesuit would either die or be kept imprisoned.⁴⁴ But the Győr *collegium* did not have this huge sum needed to free the Jesuit, and his fate is unknown.

Events could take strange turns in the darkness of a prison cell. A case from Kremsmünster in 1652, while not within the Hungarian speaking portion of the Austrian Province, commands our attention because of the way it brings together several elements found in many other Jesuit narratives from further east.⁴⁵ A Turk was confined in the town prison, awaiting execution by torture for an unidentified crime. A priest (presumably a Jesuit, although the report does not specify) produces a rosary, which makes the condemned man turn pale, and

⁴² The case of Marshal Nicolas Doxat, a Swiss Calvinist accused of treason and executed in Austrian-occupied Belgrade in 1738, is an instance when Jesuits did not succeed in converting the condemned. Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung Kaiser Karls VI*, 85.

⁴³ *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesv Anni M.D.C.L.*, 50.

⁴⁴ “insidias Mohumentes, in quibus est moriendum vel captivitas in carcere Turcici subeundi, ex quibus infra 7000 Imperialium un’ è nostris non redimitur...” *Informatio de missione Wesprimiensi accepta à P. Joanne Lippai, October 1652*. A barely legible fragment from the same year alludes to the Turks refusing to release a captive, possibly a Jesuit. Another entry almost a year later may refer to the same Jesuit, *coadjutor temporalis* Petrus Matis-tae(?) for whom 133 florins was demanded: “captius [sic] apud Turcas a D. D. Deputationis imp’travi [?] Anschaffung 133f pecunia necdum petij. Georg. Dittmair. Graecii 9. Aug. 1653.” *Jesuitica ad historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae Spectantia*, 118 E. 41, fols. 390v; 386v; 356r, PFK.

⁴⁵ *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesv Anni M.D.C.LII.*, 34–35.

roll his eyes. He cringes to avoid a crucifix that has been produced, and a little later, at dusk, a flame appears between the feet of the ministering cleric. The apparition changes form, assuming the appearance of a dog, and then a lighted candle, and finally a cat (a very rare reference among Jesuit writings to this animal). An image of St. Ignatius is then successfully employed to drive off this apparition.⁴⁶ The Turkish prisoner is “Deo redditus” and is thus prepared to await his fate—although it is not reported that he either converted or found peace or consolation in the priest’s ministrations.

One of the consequences of this cumulative reporting of the power of the image of Ignatius was that the role of the Founder came increasingly to resemble the function of the saints who had long summoned in local and folk religion and that any distinctive characteristics for which Ignatius had been originally remembered within the Society were gradually lost in the repeated use of his image to combat evil and misfortune. When vertigo and melancholy might be cured merely by wearing an image of the Saint on the crown of one’s head, the author of the *Spiritual Exercises* passed from view as a personality and became little more than an amulet, functioning perhaps as images of the saints that had been introduced by the Jesuits did at the seventeenth-century Mughul court.

The tale of the preternatural flame in the cell is of course entirely about the experiences of the presumably Jesuit priest; we are not even told whether the prisoner saw this parade of images. The Turkish man, like many of the sinning women in other Jesuit narratives, while he early on occupies prominence in the story, soon is reduced to little more than a foil for the action and especially the subjective experience of the priest; he plays a silent supporting role not unlike the prostrate, top knotted Turkish soldiers found at the bottom of Baroque representations of the liberation of Hungary by Christianity.⁴⁷ The possibility that his physical reactions to the priest’s visit might be motivated more

⁴⁶ This type of miraculous cure was reported to be efficacious in Bratislava. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LI.*, 92. For the at times ambiguous role played at the Mogul court by images of saints imported or inspired by the Jesuits, see Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 140–142.

⁴⁷ As in the frontispiece of Gonzalez de Santalla’s *Manductio*, reproduced in Colombo, *Convertire*, plate 8.

by the horror of his impending death or the wretched conditions under which he is confined than by any special properties of the objects brought by the priest is of course not even entertained.

What is striking in this narrative is that taken by themselves, these images are not the obvious manifestations of enemies of the Society's mission or the usual challenges associated with ministering to the imprisoned and condemned. Dogs indeed occupy a lowly place in Biblical lore and cats, often regarded as familiars of witches, were at one point in the 1730s the victims of a Parisian "massacre" in a case that Robert Darnton famously analyzed.⁴⁸ Cats were also regarded, if not by theologians, then at least by the less educated as witches—either good or bad—that had changed shape.⁴⁹ But neither dogs nor cats were normally the cause of utter terror or alarm as were the armed specters or "larvae" (spirits of the evil dead) that tormented Hungarians from time to time.⁵⁰ Nor were they normally found in a prison cell. That the singular, subjective, and uncorroborated experience of this anonymous priest, which does not fit the model of the publicly conducted contests of Jesuits between good and evil, was accepted and reported uncritically in the published *Annuae Literae* requires explanation. The only obvious physical connection between the incident and the mission of the Society is the employment of the image of its Founder to drive off the spectral images. It may be that the chroniclers of the Austrian Province lacked more concrete and confirmed incidents upon which to draw as they composed their annual report, but underlying the entire account is a credulity which must have been widespread enough that the publishers of the *Annuae Literae* did not fear ridicule in publishing the account. This credulity extended not merely to the possibility of the appearance of miraculous or terrible images such as we have seen in Ladislaus Baranyi's encounter with the

⁴⁸ Darnton, "The Great Cat Massacre."

⁴⁹ Stephens, *Demon Lovers*, 285–288. For cats that were actually benevolent women, see Whyte, ed., *The Scottish Cat*, 62.

⁵⁰ Such as the nocturnal, spear waving "spectrum armatum" that harassed a resident of Győr who found himself trapped in his bedroom, the same year as the Kremsmünster incident. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv Anni M. D.C.LII.*, 34–35. "Larvae" (ghosts) were driven off from the jail in Trnava in 1650. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv Anni M.D.C.L.*, 66.

image-bearing flame, but also the acceptance of testimony obtained from experiences of obscure significance at best that occurred in the gloom of the Kremsmünster jail. The empirical evidence, if any, associated with this incident cannot be assessed by the historian, but each such story that was included in the larger narrative of the Society doubtless provided material for future “copycat”(!) reports of spectral sightings.⁵¹ The public relating of these encounters by Jesuits in homilies and in private conversations would make the details of the next encounter seem more specific as they were told by a narrator possessing the vocabulary of earlier accounts and the mental images they engendered.

The war between Jesuits and the unseen world of spirits was advanced both by individual, and, as the Kremsmünster incident reminds us, often solitary encounters, and also through the cumulative assembling of anecdotes, each one ending in a success, great or small, and each anecdote providing the vocabulary and a cluster of images for the reporting of future successes.⁵² The often modest libraries of the more remote Jesuit communities would have provided an additional source of vocabulary and conceptual tools for the writers of obituaries and other narratives that included encounters with the supernatural. Access to these books was generally limited or denied to students, but would have been given to the fathers (although probably not the *co-adjutores temporales*).⁵³ Each of these sources aided in the creation of an experience that shared much with the staged theatrical productions

⁵¹ A soldier in Győr, then a garrison town on the frontier of Ottoman Hungary, was reported “spectro territus” the same year as the burgher’s encounter with a “spectrum” noted in the previous footnote. *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv Anni M.D.C.LII.*, 34–35.

⁵² Among the demons shown tormenting English Jesuit William Weston in Tanner’s *Imitatrix* is a wolflike creature in a ruff and gentleman’s plumed hat. While to a modern viewer this figure might seem like an escapee from a book of fairy tales, it is highly suggestive of both the human and inhuman characteristics associated with demonic adversaries of the Society. Tanner, *Imitatrix*, 454.

⁵³ A single book from the library of the Homonna Jesuit library, a work by the Jesuit theologian Antonius de Escobar y Mendoza, has been identified in the collection of the parish house in Mindszenti. Gyulai, “Kultusz és valóság,” 22–26.

of the Society and which also sheds light on the interior mental world of many Jesuits and with the ways they sought to portray this world to others.

Complementing the cumulative process by which Jesuit writers assembled language and utilized the most vivid details of solitary encounters with the supernatural was the phenomenon of the potentially collective encounter. The obituary of Father Aloysius Kuhn (1612–1651), once a preceptor of humanities in Trnava, describes an incident in Graz in which he watched two demons guarding the cubicle of the Father Rector push back several Jesuits trying to gain entrance.⁵⁴ Unlike the encounter in the Kremsmünster Kuhn's experience (unless it was an exclusively individual hallucination) seems to have been shared to some degree by his colleagues. Kuhn is not reported to have striven, successfully or not, with the demons, and the story is less about victory than about Kuhn's acknowledged abilities to perceive the supernatural. This story is also about the importance of the Society's work, and the need the demons felt to try to thwart its activities. Like Brother Christopher Rotter's self-mortification, the visions of Father Kuhn were not commonplace but within the institutional culture of the Society they were a highly desirable experience, a connection with an aspect of the Society's mission that received far more attention in the more widely distributed Jesuit writings such as the *Litterae Annuae* than did the schools and artistic endeavors which occupy modern historians.

A psychological or theological analysis of the visions, memories of visions and interpretations thereof lies outside the scope of this historical study. Obviously the encounters experienced by Jesuits were not unique to their religious order or to Catholicism—one recalls Luther's inkpot hurled at the Devil and Cotton Mather's *Marvels of the Invisible World*. Yet it is still worth asking whether there was anything about the culture of the Austrian Province that made at least the reporting of these experiences more likely. We may draw a connection between the unusual degree of physical independence granted to Jesuits frequently spread out over a wide area and their reliance on "discernment" and the confidence and specificity with which some reported

⁵⁴ *Elogia Defunctorum XI*, Ms. I, Ab 147, fol. 27, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 653.

their encounters with the supernatural. Then too, many of the most significant struggles Jesuits experienced were, as we have seen, interior battles with desire. The legitimacy given to these experiences reinforced the subjective experience of an encounter with a demon. Likewise the internal responses to the *calumnia* hurled at Jesuits by their enemies were evidences of strength, and while physical threats were part of a Jesuit's burden, the interior response to the insults of "pseudopraedicatores" or "ministelli" was of equal importance.⁵⁵ Struggles with demons whom others might not be able to see—at least not at first—were only one aspect of the unending interior battles of a Jesuit.

Jesuits thus saturated with the experience of the mystic power of physical objects and perhaps surrounded by swarms of demonic adversaries then ascended the scaffold with the condemned. While Protestant authors and illustrators eagerly seized upon the image of a Jesuit lingering about the gallows like some ill-omened carrion crow,⁵⁶ the elevated setting of an execution functioned for the Jesuits themselves as yet another kind of stage on which they might perform in a ritual that saved the soul of one unfortunate while stirring others to follow a more virtuous path. For some Jesuits, too, the experience of attending the condemned was undoubtedly a demanding exercise and an emotional challenge as well, one that could be made even of those Jesuits not normally assigned such work. A cryptic reference from the Košice *Diarium* from 1700 suggests that both a Jesuit priest and a brother accompanied a condemned prisoner outside the city walls, presumably to his death ("ad gladium").⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The obituary notice of Father Gabriel Chinorany (1640–1695) notes that he struggled against both the plague and the "Pseudopraedicatores" while in the *Missio Liptovensis. Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, fol. 254, ELTEK.

⁵⁶ An illustration of the "Execution of the participants of the Orava uprising of 1672" shows priests exhorting the condemned and holding crucifixes aloft as gruesome impalings and beheadings proceed. Since the Imperial army executed the rebel leaders it is likely that the priests were Jesuits. Reproduced in Gácsová, ed., *Dokumenty k protifeudálnym bojom slovenského ľudu (1113–1848)*, 330.

⁵⁷ "Eductus quidam ad gladium extra urbe' quem comitatus est P. Benkovich et Ftre Schweiger." *Diarium Coll. Cassov*, [2 October 1700], Ms. I, 86/2 fol.

If public executions were potentially riveting dramas in the seventeenth century, they were also far more familiar and commonplace than in later eras, engrossing to the audience but not understood as aberrations. And while the *Litterae Annuae* generally report Jesuit encounters with the condemned in a formal and formulaic fashion, the less widely circulated documents of the Society suggest some of this shocking (to us) ordinariness of such events, which took place in a world of day-to-day publicly exhibited brutality and violence.⁵⁸ The *Diarium* entry of the Košice community for 2 September 1673 states, "Six Hungarian rebels were dispatched, of which five were beheaded, and then impaled. A seventh, a Calvinist, was impaled while still alive, and died miserably." The writer then goes on to list the guests, including a bishop, at luncheon at the Jesuit *residencia* that took place shortly thereafter.⁵⁹ Eight days earlier another mass execution had taken place, with Jesuits on hand, along with two executioners.⁶⁰

The seemingly callous reaction of the writer to these grisly events needs to be placed in the intensely violent context of late seventeenth-century Hungary, where torture, enslavement on a galley or banishment were some of the tactics used by the Habsburgs to impose order and to generate themes for propaganda supporting the dynasty.⁶¹ A cruel environment might make a callous man more so, or harden the spirit of anyone placed in such a setting for years.⁶² The Ottomans

179v, ELTEK. Brother Schweiger's usual assignments were night watchman and launderer.

⁵⁸ For example, in Košice a sodomite (who may or may not have engaged in homosexual activity) aged 80 was "burnt to ashes" in 1675. Anonymous letter of 1 May 1675, cited in Krones, *Zur Geschichte Ungarns*, 105.

⁵⁹ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.*, Ms. I, Ab 86/1, fol. 20r, ELTEK.

⁶⁰ *Diarium Coll. Cassov.*, Ms. I, Ab 86/1, fol. 19v, ELTEK. These and other instances of public violence did not produce the desired results, and the following year the Court in Vienna suspended its aggressive program of persecution of non-Catholics.

⁶¹ The unsuccessful Wesselényi conspiracy produced the patriotic martyrs Nádasdy, Zrinyi, and Frangepán, who were executed in 1671. While many Hungarians viewed the execution of these noblemen as an outrage, Habsburg propaganda portrayed the carrying out of these sentences as the exercise of justice. Schumann, *Die Andere Sonne*, 122–123.

⁶² During an especially harsh season the Superior of the Uzhhorod community is described as follows: "Primo maior affabilitas desideretur in Superiore

before their expulsion from the region had practiced their own forms of public cruelty, as had the Tatars before them. These acts of violence by the state took place in a society already enervated and perhaps numbed by the multiple crises of famine, war and plague. The restive population of Royal Hungary, like most others in Europe (one thinks of the exactly contemporaneous Judge Jefferies and the Bloody Assizes of England), regarded public, institutionalized violence as an inescapable aspect of life. Yet these public spectacles did not lose their power to impress.

On other occasions the Jesuit reporting of an execution is more emotionally neutral, as in Banská Bystrica on 26 August 1690, where the *Diarium* of the Jesuit residence records, “rusticus homicida in foro ante resid’iam medio decollat’ e[st] rustic’ homicida adsitit [sic] P. Garaiski et M. Szoller” (A homicide from the countryside was beheaded outside the Residentia and Father Garaiski and Master Szoller were on hand).⁶³ Jesuits participating in such exercises as public executions might comfort themselves with the assurance that God’s will was being carried out, and that the malefactors on display were being dealt with appropriately, and perhaps most importantly, other souls were being rescued from the contagion of heresy carried by the condemned through the grim *exemplum* and spectacle. Yet one word in the presumably eyewitness account of these events points to a more subjective reaction to the horror: “miserè.” While we should not make too much of this solitary Latin adverb, its presence leaves open the possibility that the writer saw the execution of this condemned man as far more than a piece of *theatrum* or another example of *Deus in omnibus*. It is not too much to say that the Jesuit writer, despite his conviction that the victim was the ally of a false and pernicious church, when confronted with the reality of this brutal process, felt some sympathy or compassion for his

domûs, tam erga nostros, quam erga externos.” (First of all more pleasantness of temperament is desired in the Superior of the house, both in regard to Ours, and to the *externi*.) Letter of Stanislaus Zivecki, S. J. Ungvariensis, 2 January 1660 *Austria* 21, fol. 371, ARSI. This sentiment is echoed in a letter written the same day by Franciscus Viszoczáni (– 1696), also in Uzhorod. *Austria* 21, fol. 369, ARSI. Fejér, Josephus, *Defuncti*, 281.

⁶³ *Diarium Residentiae Soc Jesu Neosolij, 1677–1695*, unnumbered folio, RFUBB. The inclusion of a scholastic in this experience is notable.

sufferings. The roots or at least the reference points of such compassion would have been located in the *Spiritual Exercises* themselves, for as the retreatant develops the capacity to visualize events and experiences, his or her own sensitivity to suffering is increased. The message of the potential redemption of every soul, an idea central to the institutional culture of the Society, also provided a perspective from which these acts of state-sanctioned violence were observed.⁶⁴

The tension between an acknowledgement by the Society that hearts could be opened through appeals to the senses and through the capacity to imagine what someone else was experiencing, and need for *indifferentia* on the part of a Jesuit is nowhere more evident than in the responses of Jesuits to these public spectacles of state imposed brutality. To manage such experiences Jesuits had to distinguish between the types of individuals experiencing the suffering, i.e., those worthy and virtuous, and those rightly condemned: the roles assigned to characters in Jesuit dramas made such distinctions clear. But the process was never as simple as that, particularly in smaller communities in which a particular Jesuit might have resided for some time and in which face to face relationships were the norm. The unavoidable material similarities among any such public exhibitions of suffering, regardless of the identity of the sufferer, cannot have been overlooked by any witness, and the passionate attachment of many Hungarian Jesuits to their national identity created tensions between devotion to the universal enterprise of the Society and the desire to see Hungary (and the Hungarian speaking Jesuits of the Austrian Province) gain greater autonomy.⁶⁵ And it is evident, as we have seen in the case of their reactions to the threat of physical danger, that Jesuits, despite (or perhaps because of) their formation, were not immune to subjective, emotional responses.⁶⁶ Indeed the culture of the Society fostered, not a hypersensitivity to the

⁶⁴ The crowd's reaction to an execution was cause for reflection by many Jesuits as well. A Spanish Jesuit writing in 1634 noted how a hanging might produce laughter in those watching. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 162.

⁶⁵ Jesuits in Cluj even welcomed Francis II Rákóczi, who had not always treated the Society with special affection, with a triumphal arch in the Roman style. Szirtes, "Herkules és diadalkapu."

⁶⁶ Related to this is the fact that earlier in the century several Jesuits when tortured by Japanese authorities abandoned their faith. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*, 104.

physical, but instead awareness of its significance and of the power of the physical to influence action, an awareness sustained through the cultivation of visual and performing arts and through the sensuous aspects of the Mass. The writer of the account of the visit by a Jesuit to the condemned woman's cell (probably a Father Vass) points out that the prisoner was spared the prolonged "barbara" torture that commonly preceded such executions. And it is clear that the Jesuit writer approved of this alteration in the usual ritual. In each instance in which there is evidence of a Jesuit's subjective reaction of the suffering of another, the potential role of the *Exercises* must be considered. On the other hand if we do not regard the *Exercises* as a significant influence on the Jesuit understanding of these experiences, then we must also question what produced these subjective reactions.

In 1671, two nobly born condemned men, Franciscus Bonis and Andreas Nagy de Füged, were supported by Jesuits as they headed to their deaths in a field outside of Trnava. Nagy distinguished himself by not needing to be driven to the place of execution, but instead proceeded there on his own accord, winning the admiration of the crowd, who saw that he went willingly to the scaffold.⁶⁷ The significance of this performance, in a grim year of executions following the Wesselényi conspiracy, lies not only in its demonstration of a "good death," but also, when retold in a Jesuit-composed history, in its presentation of a pacified Hungary whose nobles, while in the wrong, have come to repent their actions and accept their fate as Hungary learned also to do in the following decades. The employment of execution narratives, not only as moral exempla on an abstract level, but also as guideposts for the future of the nation, was another innovation of the Society during the long peace that followed the tumultuous late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The possibility that the Jesuit reaction to a criminal and his or her fate was negative or hostile can likewise not be dismissed. Levoča was the scene of the execution of a thief accompanied by a Jesuit, described in the *Diarium* of the community as a "Martalus."⁶⁸ The choice of word is curious. Literally, *martalus* means "weasel" in Latin, a pun on

⁶⁷ Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, iii, 99.

⁶⁸ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 247v [30 August 1700], MOL.

the idea that the weasel was a thief, and one that seems neither charitable nor redolent of a desire to practice “cura animorum.” Perhaps it reflected a revulsion at the individual characteristics of this particular condemned man, a more generalized dismay with a population that had so often resisted efforts at evangelization and had exhibited so many instances of hostility. Yet the choice of this somewhat exotic term may reflect no more than the Jesuit chronicler’s desire to embellish his prosaic text.⁶⁹

From Uzhhorod comes the story of a woman who had been condemned to death for adultery. Bearing a faint resemblance to unrepentant women found elsewhere in Jesuit chronicles (if none at all to the woman taken in adultery in the Gospel of John), the adulteress announced: “Si meus maritus est duri cordi ut Turca [we have already met the hard hearted infidel as the husband of the woman receiving succor from a Jesuit], ego quoque mori volo ut pagana” (If my husband is as hard hearted as a Turk, I too want to die as a pagan). But the persuasive Jesuit accomplished what her husband could not (“instans sacerdos noster persuasit”) and the unhappy woman went on the face execution with Christian constancy.⁷⁰ Notable here, as in many other similar accounts, is the absence of evident compassion for the woman’s physical plight or, as one might have expected, an echo of the ethical message embedded in the Gospel story. As with the case of the sinful woman of Cluj who defiantly faced the Grand Prince with admission of her sins and of her further desires, the woman of Uzhhorod’s public and outrageous statement provide an opportunity for a Jesuit to demonstrate his own capacity to care for souls. This account therefore can be read in two ways: as evidence of the emotional distance that Jesuits needed to create from the horrific events to which they were witness, and in support of the notion that even in very difficult situations Jesuits remained committed to provide “cura

⁶⁹ While the *Ratio* curriculum gave Jesuits a solidly classical Latin vocabulary, their manuscripts not destined for publication show a sometimes very broadly derived choice of terminology. “Martalus” first appears in eighth-century Latin and may have originated in Spain through the Arabic. Wiener, *Contributions Toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, iv, 313–314.

⁷⁰ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 510, citing Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis 12180, undated.

animorum.” Of course both factors may have been simultaneously in play.

Uzhhorod is also the setting of another grim prison story. A woman convicted of infanticide (a crime reported in other Jesuit records) faced death by the sword. According to the Jesuit chronicler, she besought her “bawling Calvinist advocate” (Calvinistam rabulam) to allow her the final solace of the Catholic faith. Suitably fortified (delinita), she then permitted her hands to be bound, gave her neck to the executioner and was beheaded, afterwards being buried “decere.”⁷¹ It is arguably to the credit of the Jesuit who brought about this conversion that the heinous nature of the crime did not scare him off; even more remarkable is the capacity of the writing of this entry in the Uzhhorod *Historia* to describe the interment of someone condemned and executed in such a fashion as “decere.” It is worth remembering that in each of these cases, as Pamela Gravestock observes, “The very fixtures found at the scaffold also served as a reminder of Christ’s Passion,” and that the ladder used in the execution (by hanging) was a “multivalent symbol.”⁷² The infanticide arguably had no future on this earth, and the sword, along with her conversion, was her means to a better life.

In attempting to grasp how such various instances of human suffering were understood and experienced by Jesuits, four factors should be considered. First and arguably most important is the semi-magical status of the body in the early modern period. The body, for both the unlettered peasant and the sophisticated urban nobleman, was the conduit of Divine (or at least supernatural) interventions in the natural order. Along with the cult of relics, the ability of monarchs to cure disease through their touch, the entire landscape of popular magic, both those elements countenanced by the Church and those practices that were condemned, attested to the power of the body, as did the miraculous preservation of the bodies of holy or virtuous persons. The Jesuit promotion of the cult of St. John Nepomuk (1345–1393) throughout

⁷¹ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, folio 50r [1720] JLB. Cf. the decorous and cooperative behavior of the condemned woman in van Dülmen, *Terror*, 164.

⁷² Gravestock, “Comforting the Condemned,” 141. Gravestock also notes Belarmino’s call in *De Arte Bene Moriendi* (1620) for the condemned prisoner to imitate Christ, 135.

the Habsburg lands is a conspicuous example of the elevation during the Counter-Reformation of a particular body part of a saint—in this instance his alleged tongue—to the status of just such a conduit to the Divine.⁷³ The body of Ignatius, in particular, was portrayed in Jesuit-sponsored art as acting like a mirror reflecting and directing the light of the spirit of God. The alienation of Jesuit natural science from the practice of medicine and especially from the applied craft of surgery only made the continued acceptance of the magical body easier for seventeenth and even eighteenth century Jesuits working among populations who had long cherished such beliefs.

In a less spiritual way, Baroque princes and prelates exhibited their bodies decorated in the richest materials and most ostentatious settings they could afford to communicate their status—and in the Habsburg lands Jesuits often formed a part of these settings. At the same time the body, especially a dead body, was a potential source of danger, its chemical processes not understood and its mechanical functions frequently misinterpreted. Contact with some bodies might bring death and disease, and bodies after death might behave in strange and unpredictable ways, such as remaining uncorrupted, or continuing to bleed. The transformation of the body through death could unleash a potent force, as when Jesuits were martyred and their relics worked miracles in widely separated locations, thereby paralleling the pious Baroque legends of living, bilocating saints. Yet Hungary in the waning years of the Society was also to become the home of vampires, whose bodies were said to reanimate after death and defy the laws of science while performing loathsome crimes.⁷⁴

While these attitudes toward the body were common to much of Europe, in the Habsburg realms the physical presence and power of the saints was particularly evident. A. D. Wright has proposed that this stress on the somatic power of the saints was perhaps brought to the fore as a counter to the older force of popular magic and charms, and

⁷³ Shore, "The several lives of St. John Nepomuk."

⁷⁴ Gerard Van Swieten, physician to Maria Theresia, opponent of the Jesuits and promoter of Enlightenment science, struggled to suppress the widespread belief in vampires that surfaced repeatedly in eighteenth-century Hungary, especially along its peripheries. McClelland, *Slayers and their Vampires*, 138.

was part of a more general enthusiasm, in what he calls “the South German world,” for the corporeal presence of the saints in the Baroque era.⁷⁵ The frequent references to the destruction of “amulets” in the records of Habsburg Jesuits seem to support this claim. The deeper causes of this enthusiasm are not easily teased out, but may have been related to the recurrence of the plague and famine, two threats to bodily integrity experienced differently from others such as war. The uprooting of cultural institutions during the Ottoman occupation and perhaps especially during its expulsion would have created a vacuum in which other means of seeking redress or relief, such as larger processions imploring the help of saints, were not available, and more private employment such as charms and miraculous body parts could fill this gap. One may also see a reaction, not necessarily prompted by external forces, by Catholics against the Protestant and especially Calvinist emphasis on religious experience achieved through the written word. Here, the Society unquestionably played a key role in cultivating this connection to the transcendent through the physicality of the saints.

Secondly, the suffering of the human body played an important role in the production of Jesuit drama, and in the retelling of many Jesuit martyrdoms the body itself became a stage upon which drama might be performed and whose products became the stuff of didactic drama.⁷⁶ In a few instances stories composed by Jesuits of the Habsburg East in which the body and its products played a central role escaped the narrower ambit of edifying literature and became part of a wider popular culture. Erzsébet Báthory (1560–1614) who became known as the “Blood Countess,” was alleged to have bathed in the blood of innumerable young girls who she had killed in hopes of retaining her youth. The history by the Jesuit Ladislaus Turóczi noted earlier was the first written account of these events, and Turóczi placed the

⁷⁵ Wright, *The Counter-Reformation*, 184.

⁷⁶ School dramas are often mentioned in *Historiae* without being named, and in the early seventeenth century Jesuit playwrights, in contrast to poets or polemicists, are almost never credited with this activity in their obituaries. A rare exception is Albertus Capenides (c. 1575–1647), a “Polonus,” who taught in Graz and Turóc and composed comedies and tragedies. *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms I, Ab 144, fol. 241, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, I, 642; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 44; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, ii, 699.

tale in the context of other tragic events from Hungarian history from which morals might be drawn.⁷⁷ While the tale of the “Blood Countess” did not originate with Turóczi, the embracing of the story by a respected Jesuit historian and its publication by a Jesuit press located near the scene of the story shows that an account of the use of bodily fluids to attempt a “miraculous” reversal of physical processes was didactically useful (always a key aspect of Jesuit history at this time).⁷⁸

The adaptation of the body as a stage upon which dramas might be played out was not unique to the Jesuits, but because the Society were baroque dramatists par excellence and were conspicuously engaged in both the promotion of acts of public penance and in demonstrations that emphasized the miraculous power of bodies and body parts, Jesuits easily became the prime agents of the staging of somatic drama. Significantly, the acts performed on a body might be doubled or paralleled with accounts of other acts performed on other bodies. In narratives of Jesuit martyrdom, comparisons are sometimes made, explicitly or implicitly, to earlier narratives that have already been realized dramatically or artistically. In the spring of 1708 Joannes Pergauer was returning from Moldavia when in the Transylvanian town of Sibiu he was attacked by bandits and shot four times. While being transported on a cart he died, a mobile Jesuit to the very end.⁷⁹ The account of Pergauer’s death given in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province for 1711—the previous two years had been filled with many disruptions in communication owing to the Rákóczi rebellion—characterize his assailants as wild and savage men, while Pergauer’s wounds are described in terms reminiscent of Christ’s, and could be linked in the reader’s mind with the staging of the Passion that often occurred during Holy Week.³⁸ Of course neither Pergauer nor his biographer would have consciously sought to promote comparisons between Christ’s passion and the physical experiences of an individual Jesuit, both because

⁷⁷ A native of Uzhhorod, Turóczi (1682–1765) among his other assignments along the Habsburg periphery spent fourteen years in Banská Bystrica teaching in the *domus tertiae probationis*. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 371.

⁷⁸ Early modern European attitudes towards menstruation may also have played a role in the shaping of this story. See Hindson, “Attitudes towards Menstruation.”

⁷⁹ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 384.

such an act was sacrilegious, and because it would immediately invite the criticism and ridicule of the Society's enemies. What made the telling of the death of Father Pergauer and that of countless other Jesuits into a dramatic narrative with a profoundly physical aspect was the experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*, which was shared by the writer, many of the readers, and Pergauer himself. The *Exercises* require the retreatant to visualize, and thus, internally, to experience, a wide spectrum of intense physical experiences, including details of the Passion⁸⁰ which are rendered in Ignatius's own words

He sweats sweat as drops of blood, and after He prayed three times to the Father and wakened His three Disciples, and after the enemies at His voice fell down, Judas giving Him the kiss of peace, and St. Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, and Christ putting it in its place...⁸¹

Ignatius here chose the Gospel version of the agony in the garden (Luke 22:51) in which Jesus heals Malchus's ear, a physical detail that both lent itself to dramatic presentation (the body as the scene of drama) and which added another sensually experienced element to the mental recreation of this supremely important event. Both Jesuits and the laypersons whom they guide through the *Exercises* are required to visualize and inwardly experience key moments; indeed places on the body can function as the reference points for anyone undertaking this experience. Along with this awareness of the physical simultaneously is the reminder that physical pain is not necessarily bad or to be avoided by a Jesuit; sometime the reward for such suffering was granted while the sufferer was still alive. Franciscus Kiri (1659–1736) was starved and tortured by Thököly's men after his capture, and then hid barefoot and in rags in the woods for weeks from rebels, surviving because of the kindness of woodcutters and charcoal burners. Later in life he exhibited an aureole and was said to be able to levitate before the altar.⁸²

⁸⁰ For the roots of this visualization experience see Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony."

⁸¹ *Spiritual Exercises*, Second Day, Second Contemplation, First Prelude, in Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. Elder Mulian at www.nwjesuits.org/JesuitSpirituality/Exercises/SpEx190_209.html

⁸² Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 181; Velics, *Vázlatok*, 51–52.

This brings us to the next element in the Baroque Jesuit attitude towards public suffering and ritualized execution. This is the notion that through suffering can come restitution of what had been lost, or the granting of some grace that had not been previously present. Just as Malchus' ear, cut off by the earthbound and concretely-minded Peter, was restored through the action of the Savior, so God could restore injured bodies and souls mired in earthly troubles, and could make use of various means to accomplish this end. In addition to the actual relics, objects that had touched actual relics, or potions that we have already met, such as "Ignatius water" and "Xavier water," into which relics of the two saints had been dunked, were employed to bring about cures. These cures were events which took place on the somatic stage of the body of the sufferer, and also frequently on the larger stage of public performance.⁸³ Such performances might even include the deceased.⁸⁴ Accounts of cures affected through these means often fused with elements of possession narratives, and might include the Jesuit trope of compassion shown to the "woman abandoned by everyone else."⁸⁵ Even

⁸³ Johnson, "Blood, Tears and Xavier Water," 183–202; Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation," 712. A variation on these two waters was the "farina Aloysiana," probably a kind of pabulum that had come in contact with the relics of St. Aloysius Gonzaga. *Historia Residentiae Alba-Carolinae annus 1754*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 57v, BB.

⁸⁴ Both live and stillbirths were reported in an account from 1734 of the use of "once-removed" relics in Uzhhorod: "... plures puerperae S. Ignatii lip-sana cu' fidentia veneratae felices partu' vivu', et mortu' effudère, plures, quod è certissimo ultimae luctae periculo à diarrhaea facto eluctati sint, S. Xavierio referunt in acceptis." (... many women in labor were happy (!) in their deliveries, having venerated the relics of St. Ignatius, in both live and stillbirths, many others who because were saved from their most severe struggles with diarrhoea that would have meant their death, acknowledged St. Xavier with praise.) *Historia Collegii Vnghvariensis*, fol. 61v, JLB.

⁸⁵ In 1735 alone, three such instances were reported in Alba Iulia. A woman "destituta omnibus" was delivered from debilitating illness induced by a "malus genius" (a rare use of this term, often associated with a particular location, instead of the more common "daemon") whose existence was recognized by those around her. A "maleficus magicus" also brought sickness to a man that doctors could not cure, and a soldier suffered intolerable pain in his leg because of the actions of a "maleficus": both were cured by the water of St. Ignatius and "lypsana." *Annuae Residentiae Soc'tis Jesv Alba-Carolinae, annus [sic] 1735*, Szentiványi 323, fols. 27r; 28r, BB.

in dire situations where the body had been badly broken, the individual still might be restored on a spiritual level through Divine mercy. Indeed without this risk of damage and pain, the public drama or restoration would not be possible. On occasion restoration occurred in a public spectacle where no Jesuits were present. A man in Uzhhorod fell down a well and spent a “horam integram” (entire hour) in it while people called to him from around the well’s edge. Finally, he called upon the name of Ignatius, and was rescued.⁸⁶ Even in this abstract form, the power of the Founder to restore a perilous situation with a sizeable audience was sufficiently miraculous to warrant inclusion in the annual letter of the Province. That the miracle involved the drawing of a man “de profundis” only added to the symbolic appeal of the incident.

The power of the Sacraments as demonstrated in publicly witnessed events is also reported in Jesuit letters from the periphery. Again in Uzhhorod, a man receiving the Viaticum was suddenly cured, and rose from his bed healthy.⁸⁷ In Transylvania, where many non-Catholics had rejected the emphasis on the Sacraments and lived in a pluralistic climate that Jesuits found abhorrent,⁸⁸ a woman tormented by evil spirits found peace in the administration of Sacraments.⁸⁹ For many this function of a Sacrament, like the use of holy images and objects, must have moved ever closer in outward appearance to the magic of amulets and charms, even if in the minds of the fathers the difference between superstition and the True Faith was still distinct. In fact, the probable gap in many cases between the Jesuits’ understanding of these “miracles” as opposed to the experience of laypersons is one of the salient characteristics of these encounters.

Of course merely because Jesuits sincerely believed in the immanent possibility of restoration they would have not expected someone undergoing torture would be miraculously restored to health by confessing the Catholic faith or repenting sin. But the possibility of dramatic restitution or even exaltation meant that it was never too late for even those condemned to death, and for those whose bodies were

⁸⁶ *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LII.*, 14.

⁸⁷ *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.LI.*, 16. Cf. Mark 2:11.

⁸⁸ Cluj for instance was defiled by “sectarum colluviei” (contemptible mass of sects). *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.*, 60.

⁸⁹ *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M.D.C.L.*, 61.

about to be mutilated or broken, to receive mercy and grace. The acts of violence performed on victims thus did not adversely impact their potential for redemption, and may, in the view of some Jesuits, even have hastened its approach. Thus it was possible for Jesuits (like many of their contemporaries) to view violence, especially when performed on those in need of redemption, in a positive way. This perspective sheds some light, if not enough to satisfy entirely modern sensibilities, on a number of public events that might be denominated “Jesuit performances” and which were carried out with violent force. Calvinist historian reports:

Anno M.D.C.XLIII. Mense Decembri in oppido Sellye [Šaľa, Slovakia] Senioratus Komjathiensis in Comitatu Nitriensi locus cultui divino destinatus à quibusdam turbulentis à Patribus Jesuitis ad id subornatis destructus est: 45 dein Musquestarii ex præsidio Ersek-Ujvar adducti, Capellano Archiepiscopali etiam ipsos comitante qui Ecclesiastem istius loci, cum familia currui impositum, tanquam maleficum, cum sonitu tympani, magnis clamoribus & cachinnis exceptum ex oppido expellerunt, ingemitantibus Catholicis: Haj haj Calvin ki a varasbul, i. e., Exi, Calvine ex oppido.⁹⁰

This raucous inversion of a Catholic religious procession would have attracted a crowd, and the presence of armed soldiers would have echoed the use of soldiery in the Jesuit-sponsored processions of saints’ images in Uzhorod and elsewhere.⁹¹ In both instances the use of the military reminded those watching of the dynastic power behind the Jesuits’ program, but in Šaľa the threat to any who might resist the

⁹⁰ “In the month of December 1643, in the town of Šaľa in the Seniorate of Komjathy and the country of Nitra a place dedicated to divine worship was destroyed by a certain turbulent [mob] that the Jesuit Fathers had suborned (bribed?) for this purpose. Forty-five musketeers from the the Nové Zámky garrison were sent, in the company of the Archiepiscopal chaplain, put the preacher of this place with his family on a wagon, as if they were evil, and expelled them from the town with the beating of drums, great clamor and laughter, and with the Catholics shouting ‘Out, out, Calvin, from the town!’” Lampe, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 425. This work was actually composed by Debreceni Ember Pál.

⁹¹ Shore, “Life and Death,” 611.

program was more explicit. At the same time an atmosphere of civilian-derived violence pervades this performance (at least as reported by this Protestant source), and is a reminder of the ways that the Society brought multiple factors into play in its efforts to eradicate heresy.

The idea of violence bringing about restitution likewise sheds light on the alleged involvement of two Jesuits, Ignatius Perizhoff⁹² and Nicholas Kellio, in the interrogation of Protestants pastors in the notorious Leopoldov fortress near Trnava.⁹³ The evidence for Kellio's role in these events has so far only come from Protestant accounts: the Jesuit's obituary makes no mention of his involvement in the interrogations or in any other activities approaching persecution of heretics. But Bálint Kocsi Csergő, writing in the supplement to Fridericus Adolph Lampe's *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae*, described Kellio threatening Protestant prisoners with the words "Ita quia daemonium habetis, & hoc modo debet expelli.) (Thus because you have a demon it must be expelled in this way [i.e., torture].)⁹⁴ The account goes on to describe how Kellio prevented the wives of prisoners from seeing their husbands, and that some dressed up as servants so that they might be able to get close to the their spouses. Kellio, born near Trnava in 1643, has left a more visible record of his other activities, which apparently included the ghost-writing of a tract lambasting Protestants as destroyers of social cohesion, which was published as the work of Georgius Barsony, the bishop of Varaždin.⁹⁵ Kellio's obituary dwells on his asceticism but does make

⁹² Perizhoff is curiously absent from obituary collections of the Austrian Province and from Lukács' *Catalogi*. He was born to a family of minor Carniolan nobility in 1655, entered the Society at 15, and undertook his fourth vow in 1688. He was also present at the regaining of the fortress of Eger the previous year. Dolinar, *Das Jesuitenkolleg in Laibach und die Rezidenz Pleterje, 1597–1704*, 152; Balássy, *Az Egri Vár 1687-diki feladásának alkupontjai*, 32.

⁹³ Kellio also baptized the fortress commander's son, a ceremony in which Marshal Montecuccoli acted as godfather. "Leopoldov." www.jezuiti.sk/admin/dok/499456b7f09f4.pdf page 3.

⁹⁴ Lampe, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 834.

⁹⁵ *Veritas Toti Mundo Declarata. Sacram Cæsaream Regiamq. Majestatem non obligari ad tolerandos in Ungaria Lutheranos et Calvinistas* (Sub ipsis Comitibus Soproniensibus, 1681); Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 998–1000. Bitskey, *Hungariaból*, 170. Kellio was identified as the author of this tract almost

a reference to an unidentified “mendax et temerarius detractor.”⁹⁶ More than half a century later Franciscus Kazy gave Kellio a basically free pass for his conduct during this period, although the very need for such an exculpatory passage says a great deal about the lingering memory of this Jesuit, even among his peers.⁹⁷ Still later, the historian and former Jesuit Katona, citing Carolus Wagner, another Jesuit historian, reports that Kellio tormented Protestant prisoners by having their beards and hair pulled so that he might collect the 100 imperials reward for their transportation to the galleys. Katona acknowledges that these confessions were obtained “fraude” (through deceit)⁹⁸

Kellio (his name also appears as Kellius, Kelius, or Kelio) presents an exceptional challenge to the historian. Unlike the case of the archvillain of the history of eighteenth-century Bohemia, Father Koniáš, the charges laid against Kellio are specific and appear in print only a few decades after his death. Lampe, the principle source of these stories, mentions Kellio at least 23 times. In many of these instances specific words that Kellio is alleged to have uttered are provided, and collectively the picture presented is not so much of the clichéd “maniacal” or “scheming” Jesuit but of a man who genuinely hated and despised all things connected with the Protestant confessions and who was prepared to stretch the bounds even of what the Society saw as its legitimate role in the re-Catholicization of Hungary. The era of course was one in which exaggerations and outright fabrications filled the polemical writings of all parties regarding the depravities of competing confessions. Yet aspects of Lampe’s account keep us from dismissing all of it. First,

from the time of its appearance. One of the polemical responses from a Calvinist writer calls Kellio a “wolgezogene Pullus.” Ojtozi, “*A Témáni Elifáz válasza a Keresztény Jóbnak*, 317.

⁹⁶ *Elogia Defunctorum I*, Ms. I, Ab 137, fols. 160–161, ELTEK.

⁹⁷ ... à quibus criminationibus, tametsi conscientia, Nicolaum [Kellium] absolueret, peculiaris illa humanitas, ac benevolentia publicò testimoniò probata, quâ afflictos ministellos prosecutus est, etiam in fiduciam erigeret...” (... from these accusations Nicolaus Kellio was absolved by his peculiar humanity, even as by his conscience, and with the publicly proven benevolence with which he treated the afflicted ministers, he was restored to trust). Franciscus Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 156.

⁹⁸ Katona, *Historia critica...* 15 = 34 [*des Gesamtzw.*], *Ab anno Christi MD-CLXXII. Ad annum vsque MDCLXXXII*, 717.

Lampe is able to distinguish among even the more extreme Jesuit personalities. Adamus Zeuler, described as a Jesuit working in Leopoldov with Kellio, is even described as capable of compassion towards Protestants.⁹⁹ And Matthias Sámbar, who as we have seen could be fanatical in his attacks on Protestants, comes off with only the mention that he is one of the more famous Hungarian Jesuit theologians.¹⁰⁰ However other Jesuits are featured in Lampe's *Historia* with the epithet "crudelis," although specifics regarding their cruelty are lacking.¹⁰¹ Also notable is that while the individual cruelty and vindictiveness of Kellio is noted even when his own words are not cited ("quantum in Kelione situm erat, semper gravius agebatur cum illo"¹⁰²), the Jesuit is never linked to family with political ties in the region nor is the cruelty of Kellio placed in any sort of context beyond his own actions that would account for him being singled out for mention in Lampe's narrative. In other words, there is no readily apparent ulterior motive for constructing a tale of a "terrible Father Kellio" that parallels the usual construction of anti-Jesuit myths.¹⁰³ The inclusion of the negative picture of Kellio in Ignatius Aurelius Fessler's influential and widely cited history of Hungary may be put down to the anti-Jesuit climate in which this former Capuchin monk and later Freemason was trained and wrote, but again, the absence of a clear refutation from the Jesuit side is notable.¹⁰⁴

One is left to conclude that either Lampe had a particular animus towards Kellio (which is conceivable, given the many Calvinists with whom Kellio came in contact) which he expressed through grossly exaggerated or fabricated anecdotes, which were never challenged or refuted by his contemporaries, including Jesuits, or that Lampe's account contains a significant amount of truth. The latter alternative seems much more likely, given the specificity of detail and fact that

⁹⁹ "... intuitu vestrae calamitatis ex speciali gratia hanc misericordiam praestat vobis..." Lampe, *Historia ecclesiae*, 854.

¹⁰⁰ Lampe, *Historia ecclesiae*, 845.

¹⁰¹ For instance, the "crudelis quidem Jesuita pater Hyrko." Lampe, *Historia ecclesiae*, 96.

¹⁰² Lampe, *Historia ecclesiae*, 855.

¹⁰³ The theme of the "cruel Jesuit" in anti-Jesuit polemics has generally been linked to the perception that the Society was prepared to undertake any action to achieve power. See Wright, Jonathan, *The Jesuits*, 132.

¹⁰⁴ Fessler, *Geschichte der Ungern und ihrer Landsassen*, ix, 211.

eyewitnesses would still have been living when Lampe wrote his history. The vehement attack on non-Catholics found in *Veritas toti mundo declarata* likewise provides additional support to the idea that Kellio might stop at nothing to oppose heresy.¹⁰⁵ The questions we are then left with are: To what degree did the Society, collectively and its leadership, approve and support the seemingly very extreme measures that Kellio engaged in? And, was there any point past which the conduct of an individual Jesuit seeking to advance the cause of the Church might be seen as wrong by the Austrian Province? And finally, how much of what is reported by Lampe and then repeated by others is true?

The absence of any note of condemnation in Kellio's obituary is not a telling point either way on any of these matters, since the most such accounts will say about the perceived shortcomings of the deceased is that he had struggled successfully with weaknesses. But the widely circulated historical work of Kazy is another matter. Not only is the abovementioned justification offered by Kazy for Kellio's actions suggestive of the degree to which Kellio had already earned a reputation among Hungarian Jesuits, but it does point to a shift in what was openly identified as desirable behavior on the part of a Jesuit working to convert Protestants. Kellio's alleged excesses are not spelled out and justified here, but are excused or recast as less serious. What might have been described a century or less earlier as a fervent devotion to the True Faith is by 1737 absolved with the witness of those he sought to bring to Catholicism. This is still a very long way from religious toleration in the Enlightenment mode, but the portrayal of Kellio as a man possessing good qualities recognized even by his confessional opponents presents a very different picture of the how and perhaps also the why of this Jesuit's *modus operandi*. Thus the intense and sometimes violent confrontation between Jesuits and Protestants could be re-imagined at a later date as an instance where "benevolentia" was employed once again to further the cause of the Church.

One may also conclude that given the seventeenth-century Society's aversion to *scandalum* and the assurance with which it moved to

¹⁰⁵ See note [96]. The work has been characterized as presenting the rights and laws of the Church from a perspective drawing upon medieval and monopolistic conceptions. Tusor, *Katolikus konfesszionalizáció a kora újkori Magyarországon*, 108.

relocate or discipline its members who failed to conduct themselves appropriately, Kellio's actions must have been at the very least countenanced by his superiors. The relative brevity of Kellio's obituary in Jesuit records is not conclusive, but is notable given his widespread activities, and may suggest that at the time of his death other Jesuits were not quite sure what to say about him. True, exaggerated, or fabricated, the deeds and especially the words attributed to Kellio by Lampe are those of an outlier and not a paradigm in the Society's culture. Lastly, the dire circumstances of those in prison provided an opportunity for Jesuits to enact charity in a new direction. Paulus Bekes (1619–1658) was one of many Jesuits who pleaded on behalf of prisoners.¹⁰⁶ A man who frequented the suites of magnates ("... promptissime utilisimeque adfuit magnatibus quoque"), Bekes was in a position to play the role of intercessor and to exhibit compassion and mercy both to the individual prisoner *in situ*, but also in the more public context of aristocratic wealth and power. This conspicuous display of virtue was related almost naively in Jesuit accounts, seemingly without any awareness of possible negative repercussions that might result from the perception of self-promotion. Extraordinary events accomplished in sordid or magnificent settings seemed to confirm the belief among Jesuits that the Society had, if not a monopoly on virtue, then at least a very clear idea of how to explain and demonstrate it.

The images of the prison cell and the scaffold were sources of strength to baroque Jesuits, and as time passed and the immediate physical threat to members of the Society working in Habsburg lands waned, the identification of Jesuits with these settings, even if they were not themselves imprisoned, remained strong. Yet this identification was never made unconditionally with those imprisoned or condemned, but instead was cast with the setting of misery and danger in which the Jesuits performed their acts of charity, or out of which the object of their charity had emerged.¹⁰⁷ The prison cell remained a source of refuge and a never-failing setting in which Jesuits might

¹⁰⁶ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I Ab 140, fol. 119, ELTEK.

¹⁰⁷ Thus in Alba Iulia, "Aluntur actu in Domo nostra ... duo ex captivis redemptis & ex Tartaria eductis." (In our house two captives redeemed and brought out of Tartary are being cared for.) *Annuae Residentiae Albensis Soc'tis Jesu anno 1720*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 16v, BB.

contribute materially and spiritually to the Society's mission, regardless of what scientific discoveries challenged baroque cosmology or how the political fortunes of the Jesuits changed over time. And right up until the Suppression, these places of suffering continued to be key venues of Jesuit self-definition and expression.

VIII

Jesuits in Banská Bystrica, Kláštor pod Znievom, Sárospatak and Levoča

“Nothing notable to report except fear.”

Missing from the synthesized accounts of the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province are the details of life in the smaller Jesuit communities scattered along the furthest northeastern extremity of the Habsburg lands. In these more remote settings the organizational and formational bases of the Society were put to special tests shaped by the social conditions and unique history of the region, and individual Jesuits found themselves at times under extraordinary pressures. These communities lying along the northern periphery of the Austrian Province generally had embraced Protestant beliefs early and had then held to them steadfastly as the Habsburgs consolidated political control over the region. The towns of Upper Hungary also retained some of the features of medieval Hungary that had been obliterated by Ottoman domination in the Danube Basin. Yet at the same time the currents of Catholic Baroque culture flowed steadily through Upper Hungary during the entire time that the Society was active there, being curbed only by Imperial edicts on the eve of the Suppression.

Miners and Bear Cubs: Banská Bystrica

Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya, Neusohl, Neosoliensis), was a Royal Town of Hungary in the Lower Tatras, a mining town with a varied population of Hungarians, Germans, and Slovaks that during much

of the seventeenth century was perilously close to the frontier of Ottoman Hungary.¹ In the seventeenth century Lutherans predominated, and unlike in Košice, were still a majority well over a century after the arrival of the Society.² Like many communities in the central region of Royal Hungary Banská Bystrica maintained a fierce sense of independence throughout the vicissitudes of the seventeenth century. The walled town's successful escape from the threat of Ottoman attacks was complemented by its refusal to accept the domination of Hungarian magnates who held sway over the lowlands to the south once that region had been cleared of Turkish forces. The Jesuits had established themselves fairly early in Banská Bystrica, with a residence in 1648, and soon had opened a primary school.³ By then the future was looking brighter for the Society, whose earliest attempts at establishing a presence among these communities had been dealt a major setback by the campaigns of Gabriel Bethlen. The legal power of Catholics was unquestionably in the ascendancy in Royal Hungary, and Protestants no longer had the right granted in the late sixteenth century of judging and punishing members of the Catholic clergy in civil courts.⁴ Even before the suspension of the Hungarian constitution the support of the Primate of Hungary for the aggressive recatholicization of the Kingdom gave the Society an advantage in any confrontations with Protestant clergy; in this regard Banská Bystrica served as a base of secondary importance for the Society's activities. After 1724 the town was also the site of a "Domus tertiae Probationis" in which Jesuits

¹ Bokes, *Dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov od najstarších čias po oslobodenie*, plate facing 112.

² Census figures for Banská Bystrica from 1767:

The town	5061
Catholics	2396
Lutherans	2665
Catholics "in pagis"	1664
Lutherans	1187
"Universi Catholici"	4060

Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij ab anno 1760 exeunte, unnumbered folios, RFUBB.

³ Tomaček, "Náboženské pomery," 70.

⁴ Bouydosch, "Quadrennial Reports," 76.

who would later serve throughout the Austrian Province prepared for missionary work.⁵

Banská Bystrica presented some unique characteristics to missionaries and educators: it differed not only from the communities of the Hungarian plains, but also from market towns on trade routes leading out of Hungary such as Košice. The long-established economy of silver and copper mining bred a proud and self-reliant attitude among the burghers and among the miners themselves. To an even greater degree than Košice, the social organization of Banská Bystrica was relatively free from the domination of even minor nobility, something that might have given Jesuit schoolmasters pause, since a major tactic of the Society's program of spreading its schools throughout a region was to enlist local nobles as students and patrons, and ultimately to try to recruit from their ranks.⁶ Instead the Jesuits were required to adopt a different tactic: they steadily assembled a church and school in the town whose visibility and utility would appeal to a broad spectrum of the population, while also maintaining a small presence in the nearby mining community of Staré Hory. At the same time non-Catholics were aggressively proselytized and harassed. Once firmly established with the support of Vienna, the fathers dared to intervene in the daily lives of non-Catholics in profound ways. An incident in the life of Father Stephanus Vissoczany (1605–1662) a veteran of apostolic work in the Trenčín district, captures the degree of Jesuit intrusion and the depth of resentment against it. During a "festum Parochiale" Vissoczany attempted to enter the house of a Protestant and spread incense smoke in it. The house's enraged inhabitants beat the Jesuit with their fists and with sticks. Vissoczany obtained a settlement of 200 florins in compensation for this attack.⁷ Among

⁵ *Annuae Residentiae Alba-Iuliensis anno 1735*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 29r, BB. In the 1730s the Society had the surprisingly large number of 27 priests to this community; many were probably assigned to the "Domus."

⁶ The Jesuit preoccupation with nobility was perhaps not as extreme as in some other Catholic teaching orders, but the Society did make a point or recording, not only how many noble boys were enrolled in its schools, but even how many nobles—and of what rank—attended its dramatic performances.

⁷ *Elogia Defunctorum I*, Ms. I, Ab 137, fol. 405, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi III*, 674; "Vysočani Štefan," in Mat'ovčík, ed., *Slovenský Biografický Slovník*, vi, 331.

the members of the community were also those who had undergone drastic experiences in other locations. For three years Banská Bystrica was also the home of Jacobus Weltin (1610–1674), who hailed from Welskirch in Switzerland (and thus was one of the very few members of the Society active in this district who spoke Italian). Many years earlier Weltin had been captured by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years' War, and it was noted that, “variis affectus iniurijs perseveravit immobilis”. (afflicted with various injuries he persevered, unmoving).⁸ The flip side of the radical geographic mobility of Jesuits was always their interior *immobilitas*.

In the late spring of 1674, the *praeses* of the Jesuit community announced that Lutherans must be buried outside the city walls. Moreover, a convert to Catholicism could be buried with full dignity and honor, but if a dying person summoned the Jesuits to her or his bedside, yet still did not convert, the same honorable burial would be performed, but not in the Catholic cemetery. All others were to be buried without the ringing of a bell, and without honor, in the field where criminals and beggars were interred.⁹ The enforcement of such degrading edicts would have required the material support of the civil authorities, since the Jesuits were not numerous enough to observe the town's non-Catholics with sufficient thoroughness to detect all possible infractions of the new regulations. This proclamation suggests the degree to which the Society had co-opted the civil authorities of Banská Bystrica, either by drawing on the threat of the military power of the Habsburgs, or through the application of less direct channels in the informal relations of the town's elite. There are some parallels to this action in the conduct of Jesuits in eighteenth-century Transylvania, where a priest was able to send the (presumably Lutheran) town surgeon, who was planning to dress up as St. Nicholas as part of a Christmas season ritual, to jail for “impersonating a priest.”¹⁰ Here however the control of religiously related behavior is much more systematic and the potential number of individuals impacted is much greater. To the degree that members of the Jesuit community actually devoted their energies to policing

⁸ *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fol. 327, ELTEK.

⁹ Alberty and Martuliak, *Banská Bystrica v znamení kalicha*, 62.

¹⁰ Shore, “Jesuit missions and schools,” 107.

cemeteries for unauthorized burials, they were diverted from their schooling and mission activities, diluting their effectiveness elsewhere. The resentment generated by such policies must have been great, which would have further impeded Jesuit efforts in many directions, including schooling. One thing is for certain: when rebels seized the town in 1684, the Father Superior was held in a tiny cell for ten days without food, quite possibly an expression of the pent-up hostility of the residents.¹¹

The population of Banská Bystrica was made up almost entirely of German and Slovak speakers, as well as a few Jews or converted Jews some of whom may have emigrated to escape the pogroms underway in Poland and Ukraine.¹² “Ferdinandus Salomon, olim Hebraeus, nunc Christianus” was perhaps one of the more prosperous of the latter, and gave one Rhenish florin and 40 kreutzers for the support of the “Slavonic Church” operated by the Jesuits.¹³ However, it cannot have cheered many Jews living in the community to learn that the Jesuit school staged a play in 1669 in which the character of “Peace” was opposed by the sinister “Synagoga.”¹⁴ In the last decades of the seventeenth century “Turks” figure in the Society’s records, although it cannot be ascertained whether these were ethnically Turkish or merely Muslims and former subjects of the Sultan. In 1688 a “Turca” was baptized in the “Greater Church” and the same year a ransomed former captive of the Turks, presumably Christian, joined the Jesuits for a midday meal.¹⁵ The previous year a four year old “Turkish” girl, captured at the siege of Buda thirteen months earlier, was baptized with

¹¹ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust 1684, Austria 145*, fol. 54v, ARSI.

¹² Jesuit records grouped all the residents of the town into “Germani and Slavi;” no mention is made of Hungarians. *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij ab anno 1760 exeunte*, two consecutive unnumbered folios. RFUBB.

¹³ *Liber benefactorum Templi Slavonici*, 10, RFUBB.

¹⁴ Protestants also figured negatively in this production. Jurkovich, “Egy színlap 1699-ből”; Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 323. There is no evidence of a synagogue or of a significant permanent Jewish population in the community until the nineteenth century.

¹⁵ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, unnumbered folios for the dates 25 July and 14 April 1688, RFUBB. The Society was involved significantly in the ransoming of captives, and those recently freed from Ottoman prisons often figure in Jesuit reports.

the name Maria Rosalia.¹⁶ Even today the journey by land from Budapest to Banská Bystrica is a relatively slow and arduous one, and the circumstances under which this child traveled to a remote mountain community are obscure. What is evident is that without powerful patrons and protectors (who would have been named in the Jesuit report of the baptism) Maria Rosalia was a likely candidate for Jesuit efforts to protect and convert her. The “care of souls” was an umbrella term for all the activities of the Society intended to care for both the converted and those it hoped to convert. As we have seen, this care manifested itself in the special attention given to marginalized groups, and acts of charity that were meticulously yet sometimes vaguely noted in the Society’s records.

An Anonymous *Diarium*

As in other Jesuit communities, Jesuit brothers played important roles in Banská Bystrica; but unlike in other outposts of the Society, a Jesuit working in a mining hamlet a few miles north in Staré Hory,¹⁷ probably produced the only surviving connected text that could have been produced by a Jesuit brother in the Hungarian area of the Austrian Province.¹⁸ This “diarium” is anonymous, but internal evidence points to its writer being a *coadjutor temporalis*. If this is in fact the case, the *Diarium* is a virtually unique document in several respects from among those manuscript records of the Austrian Province which have survived. The original of the *Diarium*, transcribed in the late nineteenth century, has not been located, and was written in Slovak, one of the pieces of circumstantial

¹⁶ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, unnumbered folio, RFUBB. The conversion of young and isolated children such as this girl was a rare event, but significant in the overall narrative of the work of the Society. Three years earlier a “tartara” girl was counted among the conversions achieved in the Province. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1685, Aust. 145*, fol. 107v, ARSI.

¹⁷ The Staré Hory outpost focused on recatholicization, and did not include a school. Martuliak, *Banská Bystrica kolíska vzdelanosti*, 38.

¹⁸ The writings of Jesuit pharmacists, who were always brothers, have yet to be identified or edited.

evidence pointing to composition by a Jesuit brother.¹⁹ Beyond the language of its composition the unconventional authorship of the *Diarium* is suggested by the frequent references to the management of the tiny Jesuit outpost and to events in the hamlet, such as the price of various grains, or when “a tunnel collapsed, injuring a certain Zimmerman,”²⁰ but even more by the nature of some of the observations about the larger world. Most of these annual entries—for this is not a “diary” in the English sense of the word—are strictly accurate (“1677: There was plague in all the land of Hungary”).²¹ But in 1756 the entry reads: “In this year one of the great cities of the world, located by the shore of the sea and called Portugal fell...”²² The destruction by earthquake of Lisbon was doubtless one of the most widely reported events of 1755, and as we shall see, even generated a Hungarian Jesuit school drama, and it is unlikely that a university-trained Jesuit priest would have confused the name of Portugal’s capital with the name of the country itself. In later and separate article, Fr. V. Sasinek, the editor of the journal in which the first portion of the “*Diarium*” appeared, published what he identified as excerpts from a “jesuita denníka,” a list of prophecies attributed to a Franciscan in Rome who had written them on a leaden tablet. These include a prediction that in 1790 “Africa will burn and Rome will be surfeited with blood,” and that in 1886 “The great Man” will arise.²³ This curious fragment strays even further from the norm of Jesuit writings than the entries mentioned above; attention to prophecies of obscure cataclysms was not a preoccupation of scholarly Jesuits, who were more likely to explain disasters already past as the work of an angry God. Yet it is not impossible that such a document might have been in the possession of a Jesuit priest or brother. If one or more *coadjutores temporales* composed the *Diarium*

¹⁹ The entire *Diarium* is reproduced in Sasinek, “Z denníka jezuitov na Starých Horách.” Sasinek provides no source for this manuscript. An excerpt from the *Diarium* pertaining to a miners’ uprising in 1747 is found in Husa (ed.), *Naše Národní Minulost v Dokumentech*. Thanks to Katarina Vyšná and the staff of the State Science Library in Banská Bystrica for making this material available.

²⁰ Sasinek, “Z denníka,” 251.

²¹ Sasinek, “Z denníka,” 251.

²² Sasinek, “Z denníka,” 255.

²³ “Z denníka jezuitov na Starých Horách,” 322. Lucia Feltin provided important assistance with this translation.

reproduced in the first article, which stretches over eight decades and therefore most likely was based at least in part on earlier documents, we must ask: Why? Although the Jesuit role in the development of Slovak as a literary and pastoral language is well known,²⁴ the involvement of this relatively uneducated Jesuit—whether he was a priest or brother—in the composition of a *Diarium* is more likely to be caused by a manpower shortage than by any desire to elevate the status of Slovak. Since private diaries and journals were forbidden to members of the Society, it must be assumed that this *Diarium*, if indeed this was its original title, was intended to serve some official function, such as parish chronicle, making the use of Slovak especially notable.²⁵

Four other possibilities exist. The first is that Sasinek misidentified the now unavailable manuscript, and while it originates from Staré Hory, it was not written by a Jesuit, and perhaps even was seized by Jesuits confiscating theologically questionable materials. This is at least conceivable. The second possibility is that the document is wholly or in part a forgery. This is very unlikely since there would seem to be nothing to gain from fabricating a short and not very sensational manuscript that was published in a fairly obscure journal. The third and improbable, if intriguing, possibility is that the author was a Jesuit, and kept an unofficial record of events for his own purposes. The “fragmentum” of a document composed in the mid seventeenth century in Cluj, presumably by a Jesuit, may fit this category, but in the latter instance the author wrote nothing about events beyond the immediate community, and the Transylvanian text has the flavor of an “edifying”

²⁴ *Apollō coelis redditus seu S. Stephanus Protomartyr...*, produced in Bratislava in 1648, is described as a „slavonica comoedia”; its probable author was Paulus Šuhaj (1607–1677). *Elogia Defunctorum X*, Ms I, Ab 146, fols. 242–243, ELTEK. Kuzmík, *Slovník Autorov Slovenských*, ii, 742–743. In 1759, the play “Sedecias,” at least part of which was in Slovak, was produced at the Jesuit school in Banská Bystrica. Poláková, “Z histórie jezuitského školského divadla na Slovensku (II).” Records preserved in the Hungarian National Archives show that Slovak was used in the region east of Staré Hory to record the statements of witnesses in legal disputes.

²⁵ More often, Jesuit *Diaria* were collections of very brief entries, made daily or almost daily, and seldom addressing events occurring beyond the confines of the community. Cf. *Diarium Residentiae Patakiensis*, Ms. II/1, Ab 96, ELTEK.

document bearing similarities to homilies and Jesuit school plays.²⁶ The Slovak manuscript, or at least the fragment identified as part of the “*Diarium*” containing prophecies, may have been confiscated by Jesuits always on the lookout for “*magicos libellos*” (small books), amulets and the like. While such materials were almost always destroyed, there is the precedent of Father Antonius Koniáš of the Bohemian Province keeping books containing unorthodox doctrines. However, Koniáš “censored” such books, which contained Protestant theology rather than the unorthodox predictions and miscellany in the Stary Horé “*Diarium*.” Finally, perhaps these are two separate documents, and the one quoted in Sasinek’s later article may have been collated erroneously with the annals of the Staré Hory outpost. The mystery will only be resolved if the original manuscript is located.

Allowing for the possibility that the *Diarium* may have been misidentified, if it is correctly labeled we have very rare evidence of a Jesuit enterprise operating under very restricted material circumstances and under the necessity of bending some of the regulations that otherwise guided the Society. The bending of the Society’s rules and expectations was never openly encouraged, although in academic matters the *Ratio* left open the possibility for flexible responses to local conditions.²⁷ In their missionary work Jesuits not infrequently improvised. The district around Banská Bystrica seems to have been often shorthanded as it is also one of the very few locations in Europe where a Jesuit priest may have been employed as an architect. Father Joannes Häfferl is identified as the designer of the church of St. Francis Xavier in the town’s main square.²⁸ Häfferl (1641–1705), as far as is known, had no training in any of the visual arts.²⁹ The problem of identifying the

²⁶ Shore, “*Fragmentum*,” 84.

²⁷ In a few cases in the Austrian Province exceptions to the program of the *Ratio* proved more common than the rule. Hebrew was to be taught in Jesuit schools, but reports from most *gymnasia* and *collegia* in the Habsburg east make no mention of his language. Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981), 70.

²⁸ Klimová, ed., *Kto bol kto v histórii Banskej Bystrice 1255–2000*, 66; Harminc, ed., *Supis Pamiatok na Slovensku*, i, 57. Häfferl was also credited as the architect of the church in “Barok v stredoslovenských banských mestách,” 62. Thanks to Pavel Kalina for this information.

²⁹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 117.

church's designer is deepened by the fact that construction was interrupted for 8 years, during which Häfferl died.³⁰ It also seems that the church's design did not follow the model of the Society's impressive Trnava church but appears to have had even more austere lines than the Jesuit church in Košice. Perhaps this simple architectural pattern reflects Häfferl's limited experience with architectural design or the lack of any skilled architect to complete the project. Given the lack of emphasis placed on individual attribution of creative works, be they in the dramatic or visual arts, in the Society's records from this period, the execution of the church might have been a collective effort. An additional hint at what today would be called "personnel issues" appears in the *Diarium* (here clearly identified as such and following the usual format for such documents) of the Banská Bystrica residence from a relatively peaceful period in the town's history: "Cocus nr arrestat' e' quia fr'em oeconomum verberb' tractatvit." (Our cook was arrested for beating the Brother in charge of the household with a stick).³¹ The cook apparently was not a member of the Society, but a *famulus* or lay servant employed for a wage.³² The assault on the Jesuit brother would not have been a minor event, since the arrest of an employee of the Jesuits was clearly out of the ordinary. As we shall see, other Jesuit communities experienced difficulties with *famuli*.

Like other Jesuit communities in Upper Hungary, the fathers in Banská Bystrica confronted several moments of fear during the Thököly uprising. The *Diarium* in September 1678 recorded: "Nil singulare praeter metus et timores ob magnam copiam rebellium Rosenbergâ [Ružomberk] expellatam et castello cum 200 Caesareorum..." (Nothing unusual here aside from fear and anxiety because of the large number of rebels expelled from Ružomberk and from the castle, with 200 Imperial troops...) a striking instance of subjective emotion

³⁰ Baláž, *Banská Bystrica v Premenách času*, 58.

³¹ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677-1695*, 9 Julius 1693, unnumbered folio, RFUBB.

³² If the history of Jesuit *coadjutores temporales* has received inadequate attention from scholars, our knowledge of the roles of *famuli* in Jesuit communities is even more obscure. While the term generally refers to wage labors performing unskilled tasks, on occasion a *famulus* might serve as an escort for traveling Jesuits. Golvers, *François de Rougemont, S.J., Missionary in Ch'ang-shu Chiang-nan*, 318.

finding its way into a Jesuit document.³³ The town was not captured by the kuruc but much of the surrounding countryside was devastated. Not that there ever had been much wealth or opportunity for cultural pursuits in this region. Indeed Banská Bystrica comes across in these records as a much more rustic and unpolished community than many of the places where the Society established schools. One day in April, 1693 the local count presented the Father Superior with two bear cubs, for what purpose is not clear.³⁴ The locals were scarcely more refined, overturning a statue of the Virgin located in the town square during the time of the Thököly uprising.³⁵ Three years earlier the execution that we have just described of a “rusticus homicida,” took place in the same place. Yet despite the remoteness and roughness of the town, the Jesuits were at pains to assemble an impressive library of about 4,000 volumes. They also carefully cultivated a store of medicines that on occasion all the fathers consumed at once, a notable instance of collective physical action that perhaps filled the gap left by the absence of other group rituals or to increase a sense of security in the face of a terrible disease.³⁶ Efforts to sustain a stable community with predictable rhythms of life are evident everywhere in the Banská Bystrica *Diarium*, but the very presence of these repeated references suggest how difficult it was to foster such stability and security.

Before we leave Banská Bystrica, let us consider a puzzlingly obscure sign of disquiet during another difficult year, 1710. No entry appears in the *Diarium* below the words “Finis Ann’ 1710”; yet above

³³ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, 22–23 September 1678, unnumbered folio, RFUBB.

³⁴ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, 5 April, unnumbered folio, RFUBB.

³⁵ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, 28 September 1682, unnumbered folio, RFUBB. In 1719, with Habsburg power firmly in place, the column was restored. Szerdahelyi, *Celebrium Hungariae urbium et oppidorum chorographia*, 196.

³⁶ On 14 May 1693, all the fathers of the community gathered in the garden and together consumed “*medicinam majalem*,” (lily of the valley) as a diuretic intended to ward off the plague, a practice followed in the Bohemian province as well. *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, unnumbered folio, RFUBB. See “*Convallaria majalis* in Cardiac Disease”; Černý and Havlík, *Žezuité a mor*, 76.

these words, but below the entry for 31 December 1710, in a different hand is seen: “Huic diario historico, si demus nomina et cognomina ad nauseam repetita mijstu’ [sic] et hospit’ apud nos, nuda erit et vacua charta cum suis folijs, cum tamen accederint tunc notatu dignissima [/] purissima.”³⁷ The sense here may be that the writer is weary with the tedious task of recording the minor goings-on in the community on blank sheets of paper. Why he felt comfortable recording these sentiments in a document that others might read cannot easily be explained, but could point to a breakdown in the discipline of the community after years of stress and upheaval.

A footnote to the Jesuit era in Banská Bystrica was the arrival in the town of F. X. Éder (1727–1773) in April of 1772, several years after he had been expelled from Peru, where he had spent fifteen years among the Mosó people. A few months before the suppression, Éder died, leaving behind a manuscript on this tribe, published as *Descriptio Provinciae Moxitarum In Regno Peruano Quam E Scriptis Posthumis Franc. Xav. Eder, E Soc. Jesu Annis Xv. Sacri Apud Eosdem Curionis Digessit, Expolivit, Et Adnotatiunculis Illustravit Abb. Et Consil. Reg. Mako* ... which was published eighteen years later and is one of the most sophisticated demographic and statistical works ever completed by a Jesuit of the Austrian Province.³⁸

A Small, Tense Community: Kláštor pod Znievom

Nestled in a valley between foothills of the Carpathians, Kláštor pod Znievom (Znióváralja, Turocziensis) was not much more than a large village, but its Jesuit community had one of the oldest pedigrees in Upper Hungary, having been first established in 1589 and counting

³⁷ *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij 1677–1695*, unnumbered folio, RFUBB.

³⁸ Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 68–69; Gunda, “Research in Hungarian Folk Culture,” 73. Eder made detailed drawings of the Mosó, performed amputations on them when they were injured in building collapses and provided medicines to visiting Europeans. Bartusz-Dobosi, *Jezsuiták és conquistádorok harca az indiánokért a XVII–XVIII. században*, 69–74.

among its early teachers Stephanus Szántó (Arator),³⁹ although the fathers had been expelled in 1605 when the forces of the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania, Stephanus Bacsikai, drew near, and permanent instruction commenced in its *collegium* only in 1639.⁴⁰ A brief passage in the obituary of a Jesuit working the region during the Thököly rebellion implies that the entire mission was dispersed or seriously disrupted. Georgius Gulik (1627–1686), who had served “in Turcia” and was beloved of the magnates of Wallachia, found his greatest challenge when he was compelled to hide in forests “et rusticis casis.”⁴¹ But even in periods of turmoil mission work continued in the district, including efforts to educate Roma, who although they were said to be committed to Catholicism from birth, were so lacking in knowledge of the basics of the faith that they did not even know how to make the sign of the cross.⁴² The general living conditions experienced in the community seem to have been relatively primitive, even when compared with those of other Jesuit missions in Hungary. We gain a hint of how the men of the community lived, at least during the depths of winter, from the following *Diarium* entry “Fuit hic chyrurgus, deposuit tantum barbas.” (The barber surgeon was here but only cut our beards.)⁴³

Like other Jesuit outposts, Kláštor pod Znievom was particularly hard pressed during the pivotal years 1704 to 1710. In 1705 the community had to withdraw to Žilina in the face of the Rákóczi rebellion. Like other record keepers in Jesuit communities, the composer of the *Diarium* betrayed some of his own feelings while reporting on the threats to the community. On 11 July 1709 he writes, “Vectum foenu’ prati Andrasfalvensis curribus magnis septem et depositum supra stabulum parvum praedii domestici. Et quia non est adeo bonum valebit

³⁹ Szántó (1540/1–1612), sometimes called the first Hungarian Jesuit, produced one of the Society’s earliest responses to Islam, *Confutatio Alcorani*.

⁴⁰ Gyenis, *Régi jezsuita rendházak*.

⁴¹ *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fols. 299–300, ELTEK.

⁴² “... Zingari, qui quamvis à nativitate catholicae religioni addicti omnes sint reperti, in rerum tamen divinarum notitia adeo rudes inventi, ut ne cruces formare signum, minus de fidej mysteriis sermonem tenere nossent...” *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1688, Austria 147–148*, fol. 54v, ARSI.

⁴³ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 36v [11 January 1705], ELTEK.

pro equis ingratorum hospitum.”⁴⁴ (Grain was transported from the meadow at Andrásfalva in seven great wagons stored above the small stable of the farmstead of our household. And since it was not very good, it will do for the horses of these ingrate guests.) These ungrateful guests could have been soldiers of either army, or perhaps even civilian representatives of the local magnate or town government. The trouble did not abate and the November of that year brought unrelieved fear: from the nearness of rebel forces: “Eramus tota die et nocte in vigiliis cum maximo timore...” (We spent the entire day and night awake in greatest fear...) ⁴⁵

Another group of horsemen proved to be far more than merely ungrateful: At 4 a. m. on the morning of 25 May of the following year Martinus Matzenik and Nicolaus Farkas arrived with 150 cavalymen. They despoiled the Jesuit residence and the two churches nearby, killing two “nostros” and wounding another. Summarizing this catastrophe the writer of the *Diarium* returns to the theme of the evil deeds of humans: “Et haec omnia erant facta ex insidijs e’ malor’ hominum delationibus.”⁴⁶ The same year the Jesuit community endured explosions of “barbatorum” coming from the citadel of the town.⁴⁷ The Jesuit chronicler of the residence summed up the frustration and anger of his fellows towards some of their neighbors when he wrote “Haec tota proditio e’ plus quam Tartarismus erat pestilentissim’ oppidanorum verè ab antiquo contra dominos suos rebellium.” (This whole betrayal is worse than what the Tatars do, and is the work of most pestilent townspeople who have long been in rebellion against their lords.)⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 107v [11 July 1709], ELTEK.

⁴⁵ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 125r [17 November 1709], ELTEK.

⁴⁶ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fols. 147r–148r [25 May 1710], ELTEK.

⁴⁷ This is the medieval term for Greek fire – an architect in the time of Byzantine emperor Constantinus Barbatus had been credited with first using Greek fire (The Literary Chronicle, London, 1823, p. 674, on Google Books)—but here may mean simply gunpowder. *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 134r [1 March 1710], ELTEK.

⁴⁸ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thurocziensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 150v [9 June 1710], ELTEK.

Indignation and resentment might be directed to those within this community as well. In 1716 a confrontation between a Jesuit brother, a member of the regular clergy and the anonymous writer of the *Diarium* is recorded, a very rare instance of when the writer includes himself in the narrative: “In hac coenula turbatio à fratre excitata non levis contra parochum et Capellanum, et me, Fratris infrunitis verbis, nulla ipsa occasione data ab ullo ex nobis.” (In this small meal a not small commotion was stirred up by the brother against the local priest [who had also been invited to the meal], against the chaplain and against me; the silly words of the brother were not caused by anything any of us had done[?].)⁴⁹ The incident is reminiscent of the tales of insolent *coadjutores temporales* repeated by Joannes Nádasí; while this confrontation may be mentioned in the *Diarium* specifically because of its uncommon nature, the “turbatio” is a reminder that tensions persisted among this category of Jesuits who too often remained veiled in the records of the Society.

In the midst of these tensions the more mundane misfortune also found its way into the community’s records. On a summer day in 1711 the Father Superior fell from a bridge (one of a notable number of Hungarian Jesuits falling from bridges) seriously injuring his foot. The surgeon was called.⁵⁰ Collectively the surviving records of this community paint the picture of a band of men constantly under pressure, not facing the sort of destructive upheavals afflicting some larger *residentiae* along the periphery, but unable to prosper and expand because of constant misfortunes of various dimensions and limited resources. The gilding of statues,⁵¹ celebration of feasts, harvesting and slaughtering, and the welcoming of travelers allowed the community to maintain a pattern of life and worship, but Kláštor pod Znievom was never able to rise above this level.

⁴⁹ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 268r [3 May 1716], ELTEK.

⁵⁰ *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 192v [6 July 1711], ELTEK.

⁵¹ “... venit Cremniciô pictor Andreas cum sculptore, et coepit inaurare statuas.” (The artist Andreas arrived from Kremnica with the sculptor and he began to gild the statues.) *Diarium Residentiae S. J. Thuroczyensis*, Ms. I, Ab 111, fol. 275v [2 November 1716], ELTEK.

In Calvinist Country: Sárospatak

Situated near the castle of the Rákóczi, Sárospatak was the seat of a famed Calvinist *collegium* that supplied much of the intellectual firepower of the Hungarian opposition to Catholicism in the seventeenth century.⁵² The Jesuits arrived in 1663, nine years after the famed educator Jan Amos Comenius had departed from the town for Poland. Anabaptists also lived locally and soon became targets of Jesuit proselytizing efforts.⁵³ The following year the fathers challenged the teachers and students of the Reformed *collegium*, putting forth celebrity controversialists Kiss and Sámbar as their champions.⁵⁴ In 1664 the Jesuits were able to report an enrolment of 100 in their new school.⁵⁵ In 1671 Habsburg forces were on the offensive, and the students of the Calvinist *collegium* were forcibly expelled from their school, with military units and even cannons on the scene.⁵⁶ The way was now clear for the Society to move ahead with its own plans. But as in other communities in Royal Hungary, Jesuit undertakings in this community faced an especially difficult uphill struggle to win over the populace. The new Jesuit project was located not simply in a community with strong Protestant roots, but in yet another of the centers of clerical resistance to Habsburg authority and Catholic hegemony, this time with an especially important educational and publishing tradition. The Calvinist *collegium* of Sárospatak had been founded in 1531, and had been a recipient of support from Georgius I Rákóczi. Zsófia Báthory, the

⁵² Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 83–84.

⁵³ Phillipus Gusenleutner (1637–1673) was credited with converting entire families of Anabaptists. *Elogia Defunctorum II*, Ms. I, Ab 138, fols. 157–158, ELTEK.

⁵⁴ Szentimrei, “A sárospataki iskola nehéz évtizede,” 148.

⁵⁵ The Jesuit school counted 12 students in its Syntax class, 20 in its Principia, and 52 in its Parva, or most elementary class, where some of the instruction was probably conducted in Hungarian, and may on occasion have been taught by non-Jesuits. While the Society’s records do not tend to emphasize instruction in the vernacular, the use of local languages was widespread and contributed significantly to the impact the Jesuits had on the surrounding communities. *Lit. An. 1665, Austria 142*, fol. 194r, ARSI.

⁵⁶ Takács, *A sárospataki nyomda története*, 51.

source of so many other gifts to the Society, had once again provided the means for the Jesuits to establish a residence and then a lower level school. The entire project was suspended from 1683 until 1686, but even before the Thököly uprising Jesuit records betray how unstable and even hostile the atmosphere had become. Theological debates and outright challenges to Jesuit authority characterized the experience of the Jesuits. Yet despite these handicaps the Jesuit community in this town made exceptional efforts to endure and to eliminate their educational competition. In doing so they assured that many Calvinists would recall them with bitterness for years to come. Lampe asserts that in March 1695, “*Illustris Schola S. Patakino Göntziensis a Jesuitis Cassoviensibus turbatur, civibus in exilium abactis....*” (The renowned school in Gönc, Sárospatak was thrown into confusion by the Jesuits of Košice; citizens were driven into exile...) ⁵⁷

As we have seen, the conversion of a condemned man on the scaffold is a commonplace of Jesuit narratives of the period, but when the *conversus* was a Calvinist found guilty of rebellion, those Protestants witnessing the conversion were likely to have felt anger at the victory of Catholicism in such a public and humiliating setting. ⁵⁸ Not surprisingly the *Diarium* of the Jesuit community contains unmistakable hints of hostility and even violence directed at its members and employees. On the 27th of August 1704, four prisoners from the town’s citadel escaped to the Jesuit community, but a few hours later a posse of local residents arrived, searching everywhere for the fugitives, and heaping scorn on the Jesuits. That night a suspicious fire broke out in the Jesuit lodgings. ⁵⁹ Three months earlier four *famuli* were wounded “a civibus.” ⁶⁰ It was not clear if the motive was robbery or hatred of the Society, taken out on locals who were willing to work for the Jesuits. Other entries in the *Diarium* of

⁵⁷ Lampe, *Historia Ecclesiae*, 517.

⁵⁸ This “*rebellis*”, executed in 1676, could not have been part of the Thököly uprising, which had occurred two years later. The general level of resistance to the Austrians was high enough, however, to produce such public executions at almost any point in the 1670s. *Lit. An. 1676, Austria* 143, fol. 84v, ARSI. Jesuit records do not betray any awareness that involvement in these public events might not be producing the desired results.

⁵⁹ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms II Ab 96, fol. 73r [27 August 1704], ELTEK.

⁶⁰ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms II Ab 96, fol. 71r [4 April. 1704], ELTEK.

the community mention beatings and hostile encounters between townspeople and *famuli*.⁶¹ Such unfortunate occurrences were augmented by the drunken and quarrelsome, if not politically motivated behavior of a “gluttonous” and drunken coachman in the Jesuits’ employ, who like others working for the Society, was beaten up one night in September of 1705.⁶² During the years of the Rákóczi rebellion the community must have felt it was under siege, even when hostile troops were not nearby. One way of coping with these stresses was to continue the familiar tasks of proselytizing. Like other communities in northeastern Hungary Sárospatak had a Roma population, and the Jesuits did not wait long to begin work among them. Mission work among the Roma community was underway as early as 1664.⁶³ Yet there is no evidence of conversions. Again, trying to put the best face on this frustrating situation, Jesuit chroniclers stressed the efforts made by their brethren.

Sárospatak was also a destination for Jesuits who had trained and worked elsewhere. One of the most interesting of these was Martinus Cseles, who was born near Trnava in 1641 and had a career that included time in Rome as a confessor to Hungarian speaking pilgrims and service as the archivist for Vatican documents relating to Hungary.⁶⁴ After returning to Hungary, Cseles was captured by the troops of Francis II Rákóczi near Mukacheve and held prisoner for more than a year.⁶⁵ The details of the lives of a few more Jesuits of this community have survived, including Sebastianus Krapnai, a *cellarius* who died on 11 April 1705.⁶⁶ The Sárospatak community enjoyed good relations with Franciscan friars and Trinitarians who passed through the district, including “P. Franciscanus ex Stropko” who begged for wine on a winter day in 1709.⁶⁷

⁶¹ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms II Ab 96, fol. 71r [20 April 1704], ELTEK.

⁶² “Subauriga lurco ebrius contendit concussus noctu...” *Diarium Residentiae Patak*. Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 79v, ELTEK.

⁶³ Krones, “Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens,” 340, citing the *Historia Residentiae Patakiensis* formerly in the National Museum, Budapest.

⁶⁴ Weiser, *Vitae Patrum*, 84–88.

⁶⁵ Herman, *A Hittudományi kar története*, 74–75.

⁶⁶ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms II, 1, Ab 96, unnumbered folio [11 April 1705], ELTEK. This *coadjutor temporalis* is not noted in other Jesuit documents.

⁶⁷ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. II, Ab 96, fol. 1, ELTEK. Stropko (today Stropkov, Slovakia) is 20 miles northeast of Košice. The Trinitarians were famous for their ransoming of Christian prisoners held by the Ottomans.

The hospitality shown to the Franciscans, which is also documented in Jesuit records from Alba Iulia in Transylvania,⁶⁸ is notable, for conflicts between this order and Jesuits had long characterized Catholic missionary activities in Moldavia, southern Transylvania, and other parts of the Habsburg east. The proximity of Sárospatak to the Polish Province of the Society made contacts and exchanges with their brethren to the north possible. An unnamed “Frater Polonus Apothecarius Jaroslavenis” was entertained in January 1697.⁶⁹ The town was also close to pockets of Ruthenian settlement and we find a member of the “secta Ruthenus” mentioned in the *Historia Domestica S. N. Patakiensis S. I. Annales* of 1697.⁷⁰ Despite their distance from Western Europe, the Jesuits of Sárospatak demonstrated on at least one occasion their awareness of far-off events. Among the plays produced by the community was *Summa puerorum Olyssiponensium securitas inter rudera collabentis urbis exhibuit*.⁷¹ Performed in 1756, the drama dealt with the catastrophic Lisbon earthquake the year before and thus may hold the record among the thousands of plays produced in the Austrian Province as the one dealing with the most recent historical events.

The *Historia Residentiae* for Sárospatak compiled during the trials of the Rákóczi rebellion includes a sequence of entries virtually unique among the records of Jesuit communities in the Habsburg East and indeed among any records of the pre-Suppression Society. Many passages convey the mood of a community engaged in collective work for its own survival, as on 2 August 1703, where we read: “recreatio, iter ad silvas pro lignis...” (... recreation, a trip to the woods to collect firewood...) ⁷² The shortage of Jesuits also compelled the lower school to employ secular teachers, a move that occasionally became a necessity elsewhere along the periphery.⁷³ But starting on 26 June 1703, with enemy forces not far off, the writer of these entries betrays an increas-

⁶⁸ In 1758 the Alba Iulia community provided hospitality to the “Praesidens Franciscanorum Bulgarorum.” *Annuae Residentiae Soc’ris Jesu Carolinae* 1758, Szentiványi 323, fol. 62r, BB.

⁶⁹ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 17r, ELTEK.

⁷⁰ Visegrádi, “Az 1697-i parasztmozgalom lefolyása Sárospatakon,” 66.

⁷¹ Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok forrásai*, ii, 405.

⁷² *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 65r, ELTEK.

⁷³ A “saecularis” teacher was a guest at the Levoča *residentia*. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 305r [17 May 1702], MOL.

ing mood of anxiety and breakdown of discipline within the *residentia*. As winter approaches, wild dogs are infesting the houses of the community, a sign of widespread hunger in the countryside.⁷⁴

The mood conveyed in the Sárospatak *Historia* of 1705 becomes completely absorbed with domestic struggles. The first of these entries notes, “Domi rixae variae, nova pessima undiq...” (At home, fights of different sorts, bad news on all fronts...), along with the news that the story that Father Meris has been led off to the rebels’ camp is apparently false.⁷⁵ The documentation of these difficulties contrasts dramatically, for example, with reports of conflicts with laypersons from a few decades earlier in Komárno, a garrison town on the Danube that in 1659 was itself on the periphery. Here Jesuits and the “parochiani” quarreled over the distribution of alms to the poor and specifically over who would hold the keys to the chests containing the money. Despite the exposed location of the community these events are reported dispassionately.⁷⁶ By contrast, in Sárospatak, rumors are flying and on 30 June word comes that the town market of Újhely (Slovenské Nové Mesto) has been abandoned by terrified merchants.⁷⁷ July saw the theft of the community’s cattle, and the coming weeks brought increased danger.⁷⁸ On 30 August we read the words “famuli inobedientes” and that Father Veresvari had arrived with “nuncio terrifico Deus optimus vertat in

⁷⁴ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 68v [5 December 1703], ELTEK.

⁷⁵ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 65r [26 June 1703], ELTEK. Thomas Meris in fact died in Sárospatak the following year. Lukács, *Catalogi*, VI, 327.

⁷⁶ *Acta Comoronij 1659. 5ta Octobris... Jesuitica ad historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae spectantia*, Pann 1. 118. E. 41, fol. 1046, PFK.

⁷⁷ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 64r, ELTEK.

⁷⁸ “Mansimus tamen Deo nos protegente in pace usque ad 24 Julii, quo die ex Homok ex aratura actuali abacti sunt nobis boves 22... hoc die [28 August] periclitabamur de nobis et nostris rebus maxime equis, qui donatiis oblatii aegre remanserunt, ac post in continuo periculo versati sunt, nec ad labores emitti rurales potuerunt” (With God protecting us we remained however until the 24th of July, on which day in Homok from where we were plowing, 22 oxen were stolen... on this day [August 28] the greatest danger to Ours and our possessions befell our horses, which through an offered payment remained safe, if uncomfortable, and were afterward in constant danger, nor could the peasants be sent out to their labors). *Annuae Residentiae Patak*, cited in Gyulai, “Rákóczi és a sárospataki jezsuiták,” 332.

optimu' detq. finem optatu'." (Awful news; but may the best God turn it to the best and bring a desired outcome to this.)⁷⁹ Two days later the cook, a *famulus*, was insolent, roaring in an argument with the miller, whom he began to beat with a sword.⁸⁰ Worse was yet to come. After another day marked by "rixae, contumelia," during the same cook was drunk and "importunus," and still another occasion when the cook remained drunk all day,⁸¹ the Jesuit writer reached the end of his rope. On 23 September he wrote, "Coquus iter' porcus ebrius totus" (The pig of a cook is completely drunk again.)⁸² The survival of this unique outburst in a document intended to be constructed far more formally than a *diarium* raises questions about the nature of relations between Jesuits and their employees, but it also points to a different kind of relationship between a Jesuit writer and his text than has been heretofore recognized. A *Diarium* or *Historia* was not intended to be either edifying or of value in promoting an image of Jesuits undertakings to Jesuits or laypersons. Yet it was a document produced with a specific intended function within the framework of a Jesuit community and considered important enough to be preserved in a number of instances. The circumstances surrounding the composition of these entries were exceptionally grim, with the general upheaval caused by the nearby presence of rebel armies prompting other transgressions such as the nocturnal burglary of the Jesuit church. All the same, the Jesuit writer of this account was expressing a feeling of isolation and vulnerability experienced to a greater or lesser degree by other communities throughout the region, a mood that was easily elevated to actual fear when word spread of Jesuits, such as those in Pécs, who had been murdered by kuruc troops.

That the alarms of war never left the minds of the Sárospatak community is evidenced by the chronograph gracing the first page of the *Diarium* for 1705: DeVs paCeM Crea! (God, create peace!)⁸³

⁷⁹ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. II, I, Ab 96, fol. 66r [30 August 1703], ELTEK.

⁸⁰ The fact that the cook is carrying about a sword, perhaps even on the premises of the Jesuit compound, is itself suggestive.

⁸¹ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 66v [16 September 1703], ELTEK.

⁸² *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 67r, ELTEK.

⁸³ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 75v, ELTEK.

Three years later, on 2 September 1706, less than a month after an entry suggesting a moment of diversion combined with food gathering, in this case hares caught by a Jesuit scholastic (“Recrea(tio). Mgr caepit 5 lepores”), a similar tone of doom appears again in the *Historia Residentiae*: “Timor undiq’, nec laborant homines, nec vaccae expellum ... Organista [presumably neither a Jesuit] mendicat panem.” (Fear on all sides. The people do not work, neither are the cattle led out. The organist is begging for bread.)⁸⁴ In fact a few weeks earlier Rákóczi, who for the moment seemed to be winning his battle against the Habsburgs, had announced that the Jesuits had two weeks to leave Hungary.⁸⁵ Troubles continue, with *famuli* being beaten as they exit church (29 November 1706);⁸⁶ Calvinists seeking their “heretical” books that had been seized and held in the *residentia* (30 December 1706), and perhaps worst of all, the outdoor staging of a comedy by the Calvinists in March of the new year.⁸⁷ The candor and emotional edge to these entries might seem an anomaly, but an account of a nearby Jesuit community compiled a short time later shows that the experiences of the Sárospatak Jesuits, far from being unique, were perhaps more the norm than the exception. This fact compels us to approach the more widely circulated records composed by Jesuits of the Austrian Province with more circumspection.

The suppression of the Rákóczi rebellion and the seemingly permanent assertion of Habsburg authority did not mean the end of serious tensions in Sárospatak. A generation after the crisis for the Jesuit mission the chronicler for the community noted that things had come to such that the Calvinists “publicas devotiones Catholicorum turbare audeant, conversos ad Romano-catholicam fidem lapidibus impetere calumniari, et blasphemare non cessent. Festorum celebrationi sese accommodare nolint.” (The Calvinists dare to disrupt the public

⁸⁴ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fols. 85v–86r, ELTEK.

⁸⁵ This was announced in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) 1 August 1706. Ms. Kaprinayana Tom. 421, fol. 299, ELTEK.

⁸⁶ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 87r, ELTEK.

⁸⁷ *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 89r, ELTEK. The Jesuits had been producing their own comedies; one was produced “in ambitu” (perhaps a skit performed in more than one place) on 24 February 1705. *Diarium Residentiae Patak*, Ms. I, Ab 96, fol. 76r, ELTEK; Staud, *Forrásai*, II, 396.

devotions of the Catholics, converts to the Roman Catholic faith are pelted with stones, and the Calvinists do not cease to make false accusations and to blaspheme. They do not wish to accommodate themselves to the celebration of these feasts.)⁸⁸ And an undated document labeled “Puncta Interrogatoria” and perhaps from even later, contains the ominous question, “An tales perversos homines, praecipuè vero juvenes, in alias Provincias et regna miserint, quo, et quando, quot.” (Whether these sent perverse ones, particularly youths into other provinces and kingdoms, and whither and when, how many.)⁸⁹ Whether this refers to Calvinist boys sent abroad for their education, or to some other connection with a wider, non-Catholic world, it is evidence of the degree to which the Society had not yet made Sárospatak into anything resembling a solidly Catholic town.

Memory of a Catastrophe: Levoča

One of the most striking accounts of the fate of a Jesuit community in Upper Hungary comes from Levoča (Lőcse, Leutschau, Leutschovia or Leuchovia), another Royal Town located in the Spiš region, which was at that time noted for its production of iron.⁹⁰ In the seventeenth century, despite economic hardships and the appearance of the plague, Levoča boasted a Protestant-run printing press operated that was eventually commandeered (or acquired) by the Society.⁹¹ Indeed, this press

⁸⁸ *Res. Sarospatakiensis* 2, “Species facti... 27 Junij 1729,” E152, 214d, fol. 24r, MOL.

⁸⁹ *Res. Sarospatakiensis* 2, E 152, 214d, fol. 45r, MOL. Tensions are also evident in an undated record over a struggle over a church bell. *Res. Sarospatakiensis* 2, E 152, 214d, fol. 40r, MOL.

⁹⁰ Kellenbenz, “The organization of industrial production,” 501.

⁹¹ Gáspár Hain, the Levoča chronicler, attributed high prices and the plague that afflicted the town in the 1620s to God’s anger. Hain, *Szepességi, avagy lőcsei krónika és évkönyv*, 158. At least one publication by a Jesuit is recoded as having been printed on the Levoča press: “Joannes Ordodi (1632–1681 or 1682) Typo edidit: *Florilegium piarum devotionum idiomate Hungarico Leutschoviae*.” Fejér, *Historia Academiae Scientiarum*, 32. Sommervogel has no record of this publication, and Ordodi does not appear in Lukács, *Catalogi*. Ordodi was captured twice by the Turks and died while serving as preacher at the Zrinyi court. Szinnyi, *Magyar Írók*, 9, col. 1350–1350. See

is the likely source of an anti-Jesuit tract that appeared in 1611: *Jesuitographia, hoc est brevis descriptio Sectae Jesuiticae*.⁹² Some decades later the press produced an edition of *Cantus Catholici*, which would seem to suggest a less hostile attitude towards the Society and its works.⁹³ The Jesuits received material support from other directions as well: property formerly owned by the Carthusians soon passed into their hands.⁹⁴ Levoča is also notable among Jesuit communities in Royal Hungary in that there is clear evidence that in this instance laypersons were employed to oversee properties, which included vineyards, owned by the community.⁹⁵ The community also included *coadjutores temporales*, among them Thomas Genebein (1631–1687), originally from Tirol and a skilled woodworker who decorated the altar and furnishings of the church.⁹⁶ A soldier known only by the name “Misko” was also in some way connected with the community: In the years of the

also Gárdonyi, “Hazai könyvtermelésünk,” 16–17. The Jesuits purchased a printing press in 1697, although the degree of coercion involved in the transaction is hard to assess: the transfer is mentioned in a letter of Leopold I to the city. Mišianik, *Dejiny*, 50.

⁹² Mišianik, *Dejiny*, 21.

⁹³ Hajnóczy, “A *Cantus Catholici* (1651) nyomdahelye és szerkesztője.” The press also printed a song about “Ali Basa.” The previous year, another work of Jesuit origin may have been published in Levoča: S. *Gerhardus Csana-diensis Episcopus, Apostolicus Regni Hungariae Apostolus ac Martyr...* 1650. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 1775–1776.

⁹⁴ Fraknói, *Pázmány Péter és kora*, 79. In addition to the “Ladislaus Church,” the largest in the community, the Society also gained control of a smaller building, later known as the “Gymnasium Church.” Demkó, *Lőcse története*, 235.

⁹⁵ The practice of employing laypersons for this work was most probably not unique to Levoča, but may have been more common in instances such as obtained here, where these properties were located at some distance from the Jesuit *residencia*. “Informatio de Fundatione facta, a Celtissimo [sic] Principe Georgio Szelepcsényi, pro collegio Leutosciensi” Ladislaus Permai, Leutoviae 2 Sept. 1687, *Jesuitica ad historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae spectantia*, 118.E. 41, fol. 488r, PFK. Closer to home the community employed a tailor who was not a *coadjutor temporalis*, and made use of a probable layman as a “pictor” to paint “insigne benefactoris in extrinseca parte chori” (The heraldic device of the benefactor on the outer railing before the choir). “Parochiales” also furnished the music for services on at least one occasion. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, fols. 206v [16 March 1699]; 85r [16 April 1695]; 308r [18 Junii 1702], MOL.

⁹⁶ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1687, Austria 147–148*, fol. 39v, ARSI.

Rákóczi rebellion he appears in the community's records as "our soldier," who is sometimes posted far from Levoča but makes return visits to the community.⁹⁷ During the late 1670s Joannes Melchior Pauernfeindt a Schönhorn, a French-born priest not connected with the Austrian province was active in the town, an extremely rare occurrence for period.⁹⁸ However Pauernfeindt was far from popular, and at one point a crowd of women and children surrounded the rectory denouncing him and pelting stones at two other Jesuits who were suspected of pressuring a Lutheran prisoner to convert.⁹⁹ Catholics did not predominate here, and two communities of Lutherans, one Slovak speaking and the other German speaking, each maintained churches, next door to each other.¹⁰⁰ There was also a modest Ruthenian Uniate presence in the region, as evidenced by the enrolment of Basilites such as the future bishop Ioannes Bradacs (1732–1772) in the Jesuit school.¹⁰¹ The Society gained a solid foothold through the legacy of Alexius Thurzó and then made more headway when it received the two great bells and the organ from the confiscated castle of Emericus Thököly (1657–1705).¹⁰² (A later Protestant chronicler, Hain, would note that the Jesuits named their bells "in the papist fashion" after the Founder and his companion Xavier.)¹⁰³ Music, especially instrumental music performed in non-liturgical settings, was frequently the medium by which the Society sought to establish its presence in the community.¹⁰⁴ Choral

⁹⁷ "Redijt etiam hodie post meridiem miles noster ex castris..."; "Redijt ho' ex partibus tyrnaviensibus miles noster Misko vocatus." *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fols. 459r [26 October 1705] and 467v [17 December 1705], MOL. One possibility is that "Misko" had been a *famulus* attached to the community and then pressed into Imperial service while maintaining a close connection to the Levoča Jesuit community.

⁹⁸ Bunyítay, *A váradi püspökök a száműzetés s az újjraalapítás korában*, 179.

⁹⁹ Suchý, *Dejiny Levoče*, i, 219.

¹⁰⁰ Bruckner, *Reformáció*, 397. Even after decades of strenuous effort by the Jesuits, in 1700 only 309 out of 3910 residents of Levoča were Catholic. Suchý, *Dejiny Levoče*, i, 273.

¹⁰¹ Almashii and Magocsi, "Bradach Ioann/Bradacs Ioannes," 49.

¹⁰² Bruckner, *Reformáció* 259; 281. Thurzó was a committed Lutheran, and it is not clear how his legacy passed into the hands to the Jesuits.

¹⁰³ Hain, *Szepességi, avagy löcsei krónika és évkönyv*, 406.

¹⁰⁴ "... vnd darauff eine Comedj Präsentieren lassen mit Paucken, Dromete vnd Pfeiffen." Hain, *Szepességi, avagy löcsei krónika és évkönyv*, 416, 1.

music, performed in Hungarian on at least one occasion, was another means by which the Jesuits sought to connect with a less than welcoming population. The Society's policy of rotation brought the talented Henricus Berzeviczky (1652–1713) to the community as rector for a few years.¹⁰⁵ During its heyday the Levoča community also claimed among its brothers Olaf Engholm (1660/1670–1709), a Swedish-born craftsman who had worked in Münster before finding his way to Upper Hungary.¹⁰⁶

In 1712, Alexander Szöréni (Szörényi) (1664–1719),¹⁰⁷ the rector of the Levoča community, which had been able to maintain a constant presence in the town only since 1673, apparently conducted an investigation into the recent history of the Jesuit enterprise there. The community was at a low point: the previous year during the siege of Levoča by Rákóczi, a fire had destroyed 234 houses or a third of the entire town.¹⁰⁸ Szöréni wrote that between 1703 and 1710 the members of the community had scattered, owing to the Rákóczi rebellion and perhaps the appalling incursion of the plague as well,¹⁰⁹ and the rector himself had fled to Cracow.¹¹⁰ However, at least one prominent member of the Jesuit community, Stephanus Pethö, is reported to have died in Levoča in 1707, suggesting that some Jesuits may have returned long before the *residentia* was returned to them.¹¹¹ Jesuit property had been confiscated early in the rebellion, and although there is evidence that some was returned by Rákóczi in 1703, more than this

¹⁰⁵ A scion of one of the leading noble families of Royal Hungary, Berzeviczky was captured by Thököly's troops and later taught at the Pazmaneum. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 28; Fejér, *Historiae Academiae*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ "... sub quo processione faber fecit Laurent' Oleff, suc. arculari'..." *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 31v [1 January 1694], MOL.

¹⁰⁷ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 357.

¹⁰⁸ In 1660 Levoča had 703 houses. Demkó, *Lőcse története*, 189; 412–413.

¹⁰⁹ In a little over three months in 1710, a staggering 1953 residents had fallen victim to the plague. Suchý, *Dejiny Levoče*, i, 229.

¹¹⁰ *Supplementum Historiae Collegii Leutschoviensis Societatis JESU ab anno 1703. Ad annum 1709 inclusivè: confectum à Rectore ejusdem Collegii anno 1712*, Ms. III, Kap. A Tomus IX, fol. 1, ELTEK. Lukács, *Catalogi*, VI, 679; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 357; Krapka and Mikula, *Dejiny*, 133.

¹¹¹ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vi, 618–619. Pethö's career, a classic example of "apostolic mobility," on the periphery, included teaching philosophy in Trnava in 1685. Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 20.

would have been needed to keep the Jesuit community intact during the next few years.¹¹² During the years that the majority of the fathers had been in exile, things at the former *collegium* took a very bad turn, but in a manner far removed from the sorts of tragic yet ultimately triumphant events reported in the more widely circulated documents of the province. Father Adamus Andreansky, who for unknown reasons had stayed behind, began to neglect his appearance, and having been relieved of his duties, went about criticizing his former confrères and offering only silence or acerbic answers when spoken to. The unfortunate Jesuit survived by begging (“ut saecularium limina tereret”).¹¹³ He apparently also received some sort of assistance from other Jesuits (“novercâ manu subministato sustinebatur victu”). Not long after this Andreansky, who was not the first Jesuit in the community to show signs of mental imbalance, died.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile the *collegium* had been transformed into a place of music, dance and women, its former “ordo” now transformed into “horror,” as the building was now a brothel (“lupanar”).¹¹⁵

While such occurrences as the calamity that took place in Levoča were not completely unknown, the detail in which Szöréni recorded these misfortunes (in a very legible hand that stands in contrast to those found in many other contemporaneous Jesuit documents) is highly unusual. The return of the Society to the community was in the context of a vivid local memory of its earlier downfall and even disgrace. Yet Szöréni's *Supplementum* bears no traces of moralizing or clichéd descriptions of Divine vengeance meted out to wrongdoers typical of

¹¹² Esze Tamás, ed., *Kuruc Vitézek Folyamodványai 1703–1710*, 520.

¹¹³ *Supplementum Historiae Collegii Leutschoviensis*, Ms. III, Kap. A Tomus IX, 1, folio 7r, ELTEK, 13. Andreansky had already known hard times, having been expelled from Tokaj in 1697 whence he fled to Prešov. *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms. I, Ab 90, fol. 7r, ELTEK. He had also been one of only two professors struggling to hold together the Košice university during the dark year of 1704–1705. Fischer, “Die Kaschauer und Tyrnauer Jesuiten-Universitäten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” 131.

¹¹⁴ Years before, Father Räbel “... statim aberrabat à mente vocat’ medic’ et dedit illi aliquam medicinam.” (... suddenly began to wander from his right mind; the doctor was called and gave him some medicine.) *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 61r [30 December 1694], MOL.

¹¹⁵ *Supplementum Historiae Collegii*, Ms. III, Kap. A Tomus IX, fol. 13, ELTEK.

other Jesuit documents but instead simply records the temporary destruction of the Society's mission and its consequences. An heir to the legacy of Hevenesi, Szöréni was himself a respected historian and while a product of baroque Jesuit culture had shown himself capable of sifting carefully through sources that sometimes reflected negatively on the Society.¹¹⁶ His contacts with the community as a whole may also have been less fraught with hostility than those of many other Jesuits: a funeral oration he delivered for the bishop of Eger was published by a press identified as that of the widow of Samuel Brewer, the last descendant of the distinguished Protestant family of printers.¹¹⁷ The Jesuit's motives for going into such detail about the final days of Father Andreansky are unclear, since by no stretch could these events be reworked into a narrative of purposeful suffering and sacrifice ending in triumph. More probably Szöréni wanted to document the assistance the Society attempted to provide to this unfortunate priest. His report, not intended for wide circulation but likewise without any sign that it was intended to be confidential, not only lacks a triumphalist flavor, but is strikingly focused on the practical and material. We read that following the retreat and defeat of Rákóczi's forces, a Jesuit brother, Franciscus Stephanovsky, was dispatched from Vienna on 30 May 1709 to follow the advancing Imperial troops, and, should they be victorious, to take possession of the *bona* rightfully belonging to the Society's *convictus* in Levoča.¹¹⁸ By late autumn Stephanovsky had accomplished this, although the grain stored there was destroyed by a conflagration.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Szilas, "Szöréni Sándor," iv, 3683. Interestingly, Szöréni also did not allow his Catholic perspective to prejudice him in his compilation of data on Hungarian literary figures, "Pannonia Docta." Kap. Kéz. B, XLIX, ELTEK.

¹¹⁷ *Oratio Funebris... Georgii Fenesi episcopi Agrensis mense Aprili... anno 1699 Leutschoviae apud Sophiam Brewerianiam*. Mišianik, *Dejiny*, 58. Since as we have seen, a press had been purchased by the Society two years earlier, the actual relationship between the widow of Samuel Brewer, whose press produced both the famed editions of Comenius' *Orbis Pictus* and Jesuit school dramas, and the Jesuit community is unclear. Holl, "Ismeretlen régi magyar iskolai nyomtatványok," 170.

¹¹⁸ Thanks to Monika Bizoňova for identifying this *convictus*.

¹¹⁹ Imperial troops in fact did not regain Levoča until 13 February 1704. *Supplementum Historiae Collegii*, Ms. III, Kap. A Tomus IX, fol. 15, ELTEK.

The composition of the *Supplementum* as well as its survival and inclusion among other Jesuit-generated documents shows that the possibility for more flexibility always existed within the Society's highly structured system of communication and record-keeping, a reality to which the putative *Diarium* of neighboring Jesuit outpost in Sárospatak testifies. Szöréni's prestige (he also directed the Pazmaneum)¹²⁰ may have contributed to the survival of this unusual document, but the sheer size of the Austrian Province, the scale of the challenges confronting its administrators, and even the realization that something of value might be learned from the account of the downfall of a *collegium* and the description of the pathetic decline of a fellow Jesuit could also have been factors. Or perhaps the rector had more personal reasons for keeping a record of the catastrophe that had befallen his community. Most importantly for our understanding of Jesuit historiography, the tone of the *Supplementum* also raises the possibility of tensions between a more pragmatic and non-supernatural way of viewing the world and a worldview where causal relationships were continually complemented by supernatural interventions. Indeed these tensions may have existed at times within individual Jesuits, and at a point much earlier than the institutional histories of the Province and the Society might seem to imply. Meanwhile, life in the community remained difficult. The economic situation of the Jesuit community had apparently not yet stabilized by 1714, when a Michael Hibman wrote to Szöréni confessing that he was not able to pay debts owed to the Jesuits.¹²¹

The laconic style of the *Supplementum* is complemented by the staccato entries of the *Diarium* of the Levoča community, which survive up until the last day of May, 1706. The day-to-day records of

¹²⁰ In addition to Szöréni's published works, a "catalogus" is cited by the anonymous author of the supplemental material in Timon's *Epitome Chronologica*, 251. Hóman Bálint writes of this unpublished work, "Szörényi Sándor in his work on the archbishops of Esztergom was a pioneer in the monographic investigation of Church history" (Viszont az esztergomi érsekekről írt terjedelmes művével az egyháztörténet monografikus feldolgozásának úttörőjévé lett). Hóman, *A forráskutatás és forráskritika története*. <http://mek.niif.hu/07100/07139/html/0009/0005-34c.html>

¹²¹ Letter of Michael Hibman to the Father Superior, Neosolij, 27 December 1714, *Jesuitica ad Historiam Societatis Jesu Spectantia*, Pann. 118. E. 41, fol. 382r, PFK.

the Levoča community reveal patterns of life that were regularly followed on many days (“omnia ordinaria”) or augmented by new activities involving students and adults. The surgeon for instance went with some boys, searching for plants that could be used to polish the furnishing created by the cabinet maker.¹²² These rhythms could be thrown into confusion by the fluid political and social conditions existing outside the gates of the community. Despite the retreat of the frontier with the Ottomans, Jesuits were constantly reminded of the unstable environment outside their door. In 1700, the magistrates of the *megye* examined prisoners who were charged with abducting small boys and selling them into slavery in Turkey, a sordid business with sexual overtones, and one that commanded the attention of the chronicler of the Jesuit community.¹²³ Trouble could come in various sizes; sometimes the malfunction of what was presumably the one clock in the town upset the community’s schedule on Christmas Day, 1694,¹²⁴ and, worse, the brother who was supposed to awaken the community overslept “again, for which there can be no further excuse,” disrupting the pattern of the day’s activities.¹²⁵ Earlier an unspecified conflict with the assistant to the tailor of the community required the former to change residences,¹²⁶ and a lay servant boy who worked in the kitchen ended up in the stocks because of his nighttime wanderings through

¹²² “Chiru’ Precher exivit post meridiem cum aliquibus pueris ad colligendas certas herbas, vel carecta pro poliendis operibu’ arculario opere factis vel fiendis.” On another occasion the woodworkers employed by the community had the day off to attend the wedding of the community shoemaker, apparently also not a Jesuit. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fols. 196r [17 November 1698]; and 126r [29 October 1696], MOL.

¹²³ “In congregatione Comitatus examinati sunt illi captivi, qui putabantur esse martaluci [?] abducentes parvulos pueros in Turciam.” *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 247r [27 August 1700], MOL.

¹²⁴ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 60v [25 December 1694], MOL. The failure of a town clock appears elsewhere in Habsburg Jesuit *Diaria*, revealing that rarity of any timepiece in the region.

¹²⁵ “Excitator iterum negligens (cui ampli’ concredi non potest) obdormivit...” *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 257v [24 December 1700], MOL.

¹²⁶ “Hodie sartoris socio saeculari dictum est, ut sibi alibi quaerat accommodationem.” *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P. 478, fol. 193v [26 October 1698], MOL.

the town.¹²⁷ Of course far more serious disruptions were common as well. Sandwiched in between the traumas of the Thököly and Rákóczi rebellions was an uprising of the peasantry of the Tokaj region, led by some of Thököly's former officers.¹²⁸ The Levoča *Diarium* reports soldiers, presumably from the Imperial army, were stationed to prevent looting during the summer of 1697, while the advance of the rebels created tension within the Jesuit *residentia*.¹²⁹ Even after the immediate danger of roving bodies of peasants had subsided, the presence of sizeable military units often caused disruptions in the daily routine of the community as the Jesuits waited anxiously for news of the campaign against the Turks.¹³⁰ The public performance of self-mortification which apparently was a regular point of contact between the Jesuits and the surrounding community was interrupted in July 1698 by the presence of a "Saxon" soldier "hic degentem in occulto in Collegio." (hiding here in the collegium).¹³¹ A French soldier, perhaps also a mercenary, sought asylum the same year, and six years later a father rushed to the aid of a wounded cavalryman.¹³² In addition, the inevitable fire also struck the town, killing the town schoolmaster, who was not a Catholic.¹³³

Despite these distractions, the degree of continuity and routine¹³⁴ experienced by the Levoča community, and probably most other Jesuit communities on the periphery, is notable, making the impending

¹²⁷ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 212r [1 June 1699], MOL.

¹²⁸ Kontler, *History of Hungary*, 195.

¹²⁹ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fols. 156v [22 August 1697] and 153r [16 July 1697], MOL.

¹³⁰ A *Te Deum* was celebrated when word of the victory at Zenta arrived, fifteen days after the fact. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis* fol. 160r [26 September 1697], MOL.

¹³¹ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 185r [12 July 1698], MOL. Presumably this soldier was in the service of anti-Habsburg forces, perhaps as a mercenary. It is probable that this "Saxonicus" was actually from Lutheran Saxony, rather than from the "Saxon" towns of Transylvania.

¹³² *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fols. 198v [14 December 1698]; 363r [9 October 1703], MOL.

¹³³ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 165v [28 November 1697], MOL.

¹³⁴ Jesuits for example regularly visited the town's jail, and ministered to Lutheran prisoners whom they hoped to convert. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 331v [1 February 1703], MOL.

catastrophe of the occupation by Rákóczi's troops all the more shattering. Throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century the gradually rising instability in the surrounding town and countryside no doubt acted to reinforce the tendency of the Jesuit community to seek security in routine, yet the very nature of the Society's mission required Jesuits to stretch and break the fragile stability of communal life in northeastern Hungary (think of Father Vissoczany's disruptions of Protestant households or the intervention of the Society in Protestant burial practices in Banská Bystrica). At the same time the model of the Jesuit as solitary adventurer traveling across national frontiers, exemplified more than a century earlier by Antonio Possevino, whose journeys ranged from Sweden to Muscovy, is not in evidence here.¹³⁵ Collectively the Levoča Jesuit community functioned at all times in some risk and vulnerability, but outstanding personalities could not populate each of the Society's outposts, and it is arguable that over time such outstanding talents as did join the Austrian Province were given shorter assignments in settings such as Levoča.¹³⁶

The material privation associated with northeastern Hungary is another factor that promoted, if not a "siege mentality" among isolated Jesuit communities, at least a tendency towards caution.¹³⁷ As in virtually all communities in the region, prices for staples in Levoča rose during these unstable years.¹³⁸ And even before the resurgence of the plague in the 1660s and 70s, foreign trade, particularly to Austria had been

¹³⁵ Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, 85. The closest that the Levoča Jesuits had to a solitary agent was Brother Stephanowski, who for example traveled "incognito" to Košice on at least one occasion. *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 98r [20 November 1695].

¹³⁶ The scholarly Paulus Sztankai (1697–1754) for instance, served briefly as the rector in Levoča. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 358.

¹³⁷ There were plenty of external impetuses to internalize this siege mentality. The *Diarium* for August 1705 reports that the town official had proclaimed a day of fasting for everyone: no fires were to be lit in houses, the town gates were closed, and "unde octava hora magna campana pulsabatur ad synagoga'..." (From the eighth hour the great bell was rung, to the synagogue...). *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 449v [12 August 1705], MOL. The "synagoga" in this context may well have been the Lutheran church; Rákóczi had been defeated decisively at Trenčín nine days earlier and word would have just been reaching the still predominantly Lutheran town.

¹³⁸ Demkó, *Lőcse története*, 330.

in a decades-long decline in Hungary, further constricting the opportunities and perspective of clergy and laypersons alike.¹³⁹ These problems were not readily corrected. Comparative studies of the heights of Austrian army recruits from the middle of the eighteenth century onward suggest nutritional deficiencies among residents of the northeast of Hungary, a circumstance that is likely to have been even worse during the upheavals at the beginning of the century.¹⁴⁰ Even when famine was not an immediate threat, the danger of privation brought on by an event like a hailstorm provided little margin of security.¹⁴¹ The “apostolic mobility” of the most mobile of early modern Christian organizations probably cut more than one way, rescuing some Jesuits from dangerous and disheartening settings, while removing others from places where they had become productive and satisfied. The overall impact on the security of the community of these policies became more negative over time. Isolation was heightened by the lack of regular communication with the outside world; the infrequent arrival of news from the campaign against the Ottomans was important enough to be mentioned in the *Diarium*.¹⁴² And although major interruptions in the routines of the community could have extremely negative effects on Jesuits, for some these crises could provide a brief if perilous relief from tedium.

Such security as might be found within a small Jesuit community such as Levoča was derived in part from the collective memory of the Society, sustained through the circulation of pious works dealing with the life of Saints Ignatius, Xavier, Stanislaus Kostka, and others, a cottage industry that had been aggressively promoted in part because the Society was so comparatively young and felt such a great need for a past filled with heroes. We should not forget how the impact of devotional practices of any Jesuits in the community, including brothers, could cultivate a specific pattern of recollections and associations that shaped discourse and identity. Maurice Halbwachs notes how collective memory can bind the intimate remembrances of individuals to

¹³⁹ Zimányi, *Economy and Society in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Hungary*, 77.

¹⁴⁰ Komlos, *Nutritional and Economic Development*, 106–107.

¹⁴¹ This occurred on property held by the Uzhhorod community in 1746. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 82r, JLB.

¹⁴² *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fol. 122r [10 September 1696], MOL.

one another, while at the same time confining those remembrances. The group provides the framework for this memory but as the process of constructing this memory advances, the memory itself becomes more selective.¹⁴³ Jesuits on the Habsburg periphery, especially those in smaller communities, drew upon the founding narrative of the Society in interpreting and expressing their own experiences, yet in doing so they tended to limit their own understanding and articulation of personal experiences. When confronted with some types of adversity, such as the crisis of fire, plague, or systematic persecution, the script delineating self-sacrificing virtuous conduct was clear.¹⁴⁴ But when the town was bombarded by the guns of Rákóczi's troops early in the kuruc war, and the entire mission faced destruction at the hands of men led by a Jesuit-trained and immensely popular local magnate, the Society's formulae of drama and rhetoric offered few helpful models of conduct or thought.¹⁴⁵ And of course a drunken cook likewise has no place in the tableau of Jesuit sacrifice and triumph.

The categories and equivalencies Jesuits applied to experience deemed successful applied to failures as well, but the long term shifts in cultural and political arrangements in the lands of the House of Austria were for a long time much harder for Jesuits—or anyone else—to perceive. Although Rákóczi's defeat was absolute and no aristocratic challengers to the Habsburgs never appeared again on the horizon, this final *kuruc* interlude did shed light on the limits a Jesuit mission in a semi-hostile region might accomplish, even if it was located in Europe and within the domains of a political ally. The Jesuit community made no discernable effort to advance an agenda of book publication after its return to Levoča; the press in Košice was seen as adequate for the needs of the Society in the immediate region. The destruction visited upon the Society's properties also underscored the depth of hostility felt towards the Society and the reality that whenever civil order might seem to break

¹⁴³ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 53. Related to this point are the multiple layers of internal censorship which the Society applied to its own internal documents. Feldhay, *Galileo and the Church*, 144.

¹⁴⁴ Plays dealing with martyrdoms were produced in Košice in 1692. Holl, "Ismeretlen régi magyar iskolai nyomtatványok," 172.

¹⁴⁵ *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, P.478, fols. 366v–367v [5–8 November 1703], MOL.

down, the Jesuit community could be vulnerable. In such circumstances success would have to be understood in ways that not only excluded heroic martyrdom, but also set limits on the measurable consequences of the Society's efforts to, in the words of its Founder, "reform the world."

The accepted wisdom long repeated by many scholars, including the present writer, about the Jesuit enterprise in Central Europe was that by the middle of the eighteenth-century the curriculum of the *Ratio*, which had fostered unity and uniformity in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe, no longer met the needs of the future diplomat or bureaucrat in Austrian service. But perhaps no curriculum could have met the needs of a Society moving into a new political era. The solitary Jesuit traveller, carrying out simultaneous multiple missions for Church and monarch was of less value in a more stable confessional climate, where the greatest threats came from an irreligious Frederick the Great or Napoleon and not from religious conflict. The pairing of the roles of military chaplain and Jesuit missionary, so common in 1700, would disappear by the 1770s, and would not be revived in the nineteenth century Society. To these dynamics should now be added the inherent tension, the sense of vulnerability, and proximity to material destruction that Jesuit communities experienced in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and whose memory continued for many years after. The threat of material destruction was very significant for a religious order that sought to advance its theological arguments by means of material objects and activities played out in a compelling public *theatrum*. Plus there was a deeper challenge in the loss of concrete objects for Jesuits who experienced the Divine mediated through these same objects. The experiences of material loss left deep scars on the memories of Jesuit communities, not enough to destroy them or in some cases even to cause their numerical decline, but sufficient to place them in a defensive mood unreceptive to change, one that dovetailed only too well with the ossifying culture of a larger Society, increasingly ringed about with enemies.

But forces other than a sense of vulnerability must have driven Paulus Kovats, (1698–1740?) a talented writer of dramas, who had taught in Cluj, to leave the Society in 1728.¹⁴⁶ The motives of Antonius Radics (1725–1773?) who had taught logic and natural philosophy, to exit the

¹⁴⁶ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 1205; Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, vi, 1352–1353.

Society 41 years later are equally obscure.¹⁴⁷ Kovats' departure from the Society was apparently not prompted by a desire to leave holy orders, since he continued as a canon in Oradea; Radics also apparently continued as a priest, perhaps as a Carmelite. Perhaps the refusal of Kovats' superiors to send him to the Indies (a destination that retained its attraction for Hungarian Jesuits until the Suppression) was the decisive factor in his departure.¹⁴⁸ Could the absence of obvious physical adversity have contributed to the decline in the vitality of the Society's culture in the Habsburg East following 1730? To answer this question we must confront the potential motives of men who became Jesuits, something we cannot know with certainty. But there are several geographical and political facts that are known. By the middle of the eighteenth century nowhere in the Habsburg East could be called a frontier in the usual sense of the word, although social instability persisted, as evidenced by resistance to the Uniate Church among the Eastern Rite believers of Transylvania. Poverty, isolation, and the enduring challenges of ministering to an often unresponsive population were authentic challenges for Jesuits, but as political and confessional arrangements stabilized and the Ottoman threat evaporated neither the drama of extreme physical danger nor the prospect of the conversion of vast new worlds lay ahead. Men such as Maximillianus Hell and Rogerius Boskovich who are among the best-known representatives of the eighteenth-century Austrian Province are in reality not representative of the general culture of the Province at all; their cultivated scientific and literary interests, their journeys beyond the periphery, and their marginal engagement with the tasks of missionary work and preaching point to personalities and motivations far different from the vast majority of their Jesuit predecessors a century and a half earlier.¹⁴⁹ Nor are such outstanding personalities typical of

¹⁴⁷ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vi, 1382.

¹⁴⁸ "... in Indias ingressus, ad preces patris conspicui reuocatus, Comaronii pro concione Hungarica dicere vix coepit, cum vestibis ecclesiasticis assumtis, canonicus Varadini renunciatus est." (Having set out for the Indies, and recalled by the entreaties of his father, he soon began to preach in Komárom, then, having put on ecclesiastical garments he was installed as canon in Oradea.) Katona, *Historia critica* ...19, 782. But see Chapter XII, footnote 13 for another view of the supposed lure of the "Indies" for Jesuits.

¹⁴⁹ In the Bohemian Province, a parallel instance was the career of the gifted astronomer Josephus Stepling (1716–1778). Yet we should also keep in

the educational culture of a Province that could manage nothing more innovative than the *Typus* of 1735.¹⁵⁰ Thus in one sense the culture of the Austrian Province became less dominated by strong intellects and decisive personalities such as Hevenesi and more typified by the execution of tasks and the use of techniques refined a century or more earlier. But at the same time in the final decades before the Suppression men of exceptional talent as historians did enter the Society: as we shall see, Stephanus Katona (1732–1811), Georgius Pray (1723–1801) and Adam Franciscus Kollár (1718–1783) are among the best known of these. The contrast between each of these men and Jesuit polymaths of an earlier generation such as Szentiványi could not be more extreme, the latter writing in a style that was not merely baroque, but which in its jumble of information had Medieval antecedents.¹⁵¹ Such minds, if they still existed after the first decades of the eighteenth century, seemed less likely to be drawn to the roles of teacher or scholar in the schools of the Austrian Province, while the structure of the Society guided its more academically or scientifically talented members to more centralized, and less harried, institutions. Pray and Franciscus Faludi (1704–1779), the most talented poet among the Hungarian Jesuits of the pre-Suppression Society,¹⁵² had little exposure to the isolation and inconvenience of the communities on the Habsburg periphery, but by the time such men were reaching the peak of their creative productivity, the eastern borderlands of the Austrian Province no longer seemed to be where the “action” was, in any sense of the word.

mind the intellectual connection between Hell and the charlatan Franz Anton Mesmer. Lanska and Lanska, “Franz Anton Mesmer and the Rise and Fall of Animal Magnetism,” 302–303.

¹⁵⁰ *Instructio Privata seu Typus cursus annui pro sex humanioribus classibus...* (Tyrenaviae: Typis Academicis, per Leopoldum Berger, 1735). Thanks to the Slovenian National Library for making a copy of this volume available. Promulgated by Franciscus Molindes, Provincial of the Austrian Province, this document only proposed reforms on the gymnasium level, and said nothing about the emerging natural sciences. Mészáros, *Az iskolaiügy története*, 460–467.

¹⁵¹ Szentiványi has been called “encyclopedist,” but this term, with its associations to the *philosophes*, obscures the unsystematic way that he recorded and integrated information. Petro, *A History of Slovak Literature*, 38.

¹⁵² Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 77. Among Faludi’s accomplishments, significantly, was the translation of verse from English.

IX

In Pursuit of History

History is the narrative of great actions with praise or blame.
Attributed to Cotton Mather

The link between Jesuits and historical scholarship is a deep and unbroken one: Jesuit scholars have shaped our understanding of distant times and places, and scholars who study the history of the Jesuits (some of them Jesuits themselves) have given us much of our understanding of the Society.¹ Historical scholarship was a key element of Jesuit literary culture in the seventeenth century, accompanying (and interwoven with) both the polemics that staked out the Society's position on the confessional and political landscape, and with the beginnings of Jesuit geographical and ethnographical reporting.² During the first two centuries of its existence, the histories composed and compiled by Jesuits defined the narrative of the Society offered to outsiders, cultivated a vocabulary among Jesuits for expressing the Jesuit experience, responded to the charges of the Society's opponents, and provided a model to future Jesuits for the writing of future Jesuit histories.³

¹ Harney, "Jesuit Writers of History."

² The academic disciplinary category of ethnography of course did not exist in the early modern period, reportage that has been identified later as potentially "ethnographic" being undertaken by Jesuits specifically for the promotion of apostolic work. The same could be said about much of Jesuit historical writing in the seventeenth century. Forsythe, "The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology."

³ A published representative of this literature is Julius Caesar Cordara, *Collegii Germanici et Hungarici Historia* (Rome: Salomoni, 1770), which reproduces

Jesuits also played a central role in the composition of more general histories of various geographical regions. As the House of Austria extended its influence eastward, Jesuit historians were engaged in the re-telling of the history of the region and elaborating on the relationship of the dynasty to that history, a project that was part of the Society's larger project of advancing the writing of history as both a scholarly and a polemical enterprise, as well as a way of demonstrating loyalty to a dynasty that was usually the Jesuits' champion.⁴ Ultimately this undertaking would prove one of the most lasting contributions of the Jesuits to Hungarian cultural history, and even observers highly critical of the Society's impact on Hungarian cultural history have conceded the key role Jesuits played in laying the foundations of historical scholarship.⁵ Simultaneously, however, pre-Suppression Jesuit historical writing retained an at times distinctly uncritical approach to sources, especially when these related to the allegedly miraculous, a trait is shared with other contemporaneous historical traditions and with much of the Society's own internal record-keeping.

As the seventeenth century wore on, the reinterpretation of Hungarian regal history and the implications of this interpretation for contemporary policy increasingly claimed the attention of Jesuits of the Austrian Province. Melchior [Menyhért] Inchoffer (1584–1648), a Jesuit of Hungarian birth (if possibly not ancestry) working in Rome,

original documents but without significant analysis or commentary. Largely neglected (owing to their unsystematic production and preservation), but key in the development of the Society's own historiography were the histories and biographies of Jesuits that circulated among communities and promoted the sense of collective identity while offering examples of self-sacrificing conduct and piety. Representative here is the unique eighteenth-century copy of Luis de Valdevia, *Libro de algunos varones ilustres que ha havido en la Compañia de Jesus cuyas santas vidas y gloriosas muertes padecidas por la fee...* In such collections the identities of specific individuals served collectively to create a composite picture of the Society as a whole. BRBC, 114 MS2007-16.

⁴ "What began as a stress on the continuity of Catholic virtue broadened into a whole interpretation of Hungarian history, incorporating notions of hierarchy, order, and discipline freely adapted from the neo-stoics." Evans, *The Making*, 257.

⁵ Czirány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature*, 66.

is the outstanding example of this tendency.⁶ In 1644 Inchoffer published the *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae*, in which he claimed to have located the original papal bull bestowed on St. Stephen by Sylvester II that granted the king apostolic rights then being claimed by the Habsburg rulers of Royal Hungary.⁷ Inchoffer—who also examined the early history of the Danube Basin, and is perhaps best remembered for his opposition to Galileo during the latter’s trial—was mistaken (or, more likely, in on the fraud): No such bull existed.⁸ The question of whether Inchoffer was honestly mistaken or voluntarily participated in a pious fraud or a cynical hoax is not central to the discussion here, but the practical consequences of efforts of ultramontane Jesuits such as Inchoffer are clear: in the long run both the Habsburg dynasty and Rome were immediate beneficiaries of this kind of scholarship which made a subtle but crucial shift of emphasis from the “Apostolic” king of Hungary to the “Apostolic kingdom” that he and his successors ruled. This was true even if the latter designation came to be treasured by Hungarians in ways utterly unrelated to their attitudes towards the Habsburgs. The papacy and Catholic hierarchy of Hungary, however, were apparently less taken with the immediate implications of Inchoffer’s discovery than were many Hungarians: It was not until 1758, when the question of Habsburg supremacy in Hungary had been settled for two generations, that Clement XIII granted the title of “Apostolic King” on Maria Theresia and her descendants.⁹ In the meantime the special relationship between Hungary’s first king and Roman

⁶ Inchoffer is identified in Jesuit records as *hungarus* and a native of Kőszeg. Inchoffer knew Hungarian and may have identified himself as a Hungarian. Dümmerth, *Inchofer Menyhért küzdelmei és tragédiája Rómában*, 20.

⁷ Király, “Hungarian Church,” 117; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 561–566. The key passage of this document, “...haeredibus ac legitimis successoribus tuis...” is found in *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae auctore Meltomus I*, iii, 269–270.

⁸ Among the candidates named as the forger the most likely is the Croatian Rafael Levaković, an acquaintance of Inchoffer. Bene, “A Szilveszter-bulla nyomában.” Thanks to László Kontler for providing this reference. Another suspect is Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580–1637), also a Croatian and, like Levaković, an intimate of Pázmány. Antal Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège*, 274.

⁹ Kropf, “Pope Sylvester II and Stephen I of Hungary.” In fact the efforts of Ferdinand II to use the title “Apostolic King” were blocked by Pázmány.

Christianity served to bolster the cultivation of the uniquely Hungarian and historically powerful notion of the *Regnum Marianum*, and also, not coincidentally, to enhance the importance of the Society which explained and expounded upon this relationship.¹⁰

In a baroque climate where miracles crowded the pages of Jesuit *Annuae Litterae* and wonder-working relics filled the niches of the Society's churches, Inchoffer also made the claim that the kings of Hungary were able to cure jaundice through their touch, thereby creating a link between the physicality of the ruler of the Apostolic kingdom and the capacity of a member of the Society to identify and explicate this miracle.¹¹ The timing of such claims was critical, too: The dynasty was then struggling through the final phase of the Thirty Years War and was still at war with a predominantly non-Catholic Transylvania. Within Hungary itself, the Treaty of Linz the following year would confirm Protestant rights, and again point up the weaknesses of the dynasty.¹² And while the greater part of the Danube Basin still lay under Ottoman domination, Vienna's hope was always to move back the frontier and extend its power over all of Hungary while simultaneously strengthening its control over that part of Upper Hungary whose allegiance was doubtful. Inchoffer further contributed to the cementing of the connection between king, nation, and educational life by documenting the founding of the University of Buda in 1389 by King Sigismund.¹³ Each of these factors undoubtedly influenced the researches of Inchoffer and his Jesuit colleagues as they constructed a narrative of Hungary's history that laid special emphasis on the sacral, the miraculous, and the royal, and set a tone that would be perceptible in the Society's historical publications on Hungarian history for decades to come.¹⁴

¹⁰ The *Regnum Marianum* has even been described as a concept having an important impact on the "salvation of Hungarian history." Marácz, "Conference on the Relations," 42.

¹¹ Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 325, footnote 116.

¹² Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815*, 65.

¹³ Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii, part 1, 288. Inchoffer also called attention to the papal bull granted to establish the university.

¹⁴ Of course, by emphasizing the sacral nature of ultimate temporal authority, Jesuit historians consciously or unconsciously were strengthening their own position as priests who owed their authority to their relation to the sacral. Schorn-Schütte, "Priest, Preacher, Pastor," 35.

The question of how Jesuits understood and perceived the material they encountered in archives and elsewhere is central to the literary—and cultural—history of the entire pre-Suppression Society.¹⁵ While the ability to see details and to assemble data was highly developed among Jesuits working in many fields, the idea of pursuing “objectivity” would have made little sense to seventeenth-century historians of any persuasion. Historical events were for Jesuits, as they were for their Protestant rivals, a book in which the will of God was written. Jesuit historians, moreover, rendered or at least endeavored to render these events in a style that has been called Jesuit humanism, a devout humanism that take as its aesthetic models pagan authors but which is “directional” in its moralizing and theological emphasis.¹⁶ The Jesuit historians of High Baroque Hungary shared with their colleagues elsewhere this “Jesuit” humanistic style and likewise embraced a view of ultimate causality that went far beyond empirical evidence and strove for a more teleological view of events.

One may also see a parallel between the development of Jesuit-composed history as a demonstration of God’s will and the relative weakness of Jesuit physics in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁷ If natural science could not be always convincingly employed to support the theological positions of the Society, history, and what was then its close relation, historical drama, seemed a logical place to which to turn. Yet in the eighteenth century the original intention of Ignatius that schooling cultivate the connection between knowledge and virtue was placed under strain as Jesuit historians of the Austrian Province (but also those elsewhere, all of whom remained at least part-time engaged in teaching) became increasingly engaged with

¹⁵ At least one Jesuit historian of the seventeenth century was driven to conclude that the majority of classical texts were not genuine!

¹⁶ Hatzfeld, “The Baroque from the Viewpoint of the Literary Historian,” 161.

¹⁷ The loss of prominence of Jesuit physicists was not absolute or universal, as Marcus Hellyer points out. Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, 206–208. Yet the perception among rival Catholic teaching orders that Jesuit natural science was no longer cutting edge was certainly widespread by the first half of the eighteenth century and was an added impetus for the still Baroque Society to invest in historical writing. For an instance of the slowing pace of innovation in Jesuit astronomical texts of the early eighteenth century, see Heilbron, *The Sun in Church*, 213–214.

a dispassionate examination of documentary evidence and were less driven to extract the moral “lessons of history” in a Plutarchian mode. The decline of this theological and teleological understanding of the function of the historical record is arguably the most significant development in Hungarian Jesuit historiography during the fifty years before the Suppression. But it is also one of the hardest trends to isolate and analyze, as it progressed in multiple simultaneous paths in the works of individual Jesuit historians.

Allied with this question of the Baroque Jesuit historian’s perception of the materials he used were questions regarding the authenticity of documents, an issue by no means limited to the accusations directed later at Inchoffer.¹⁸ These questions had particular importance for Jesuits engaged in reconstructing Hungarian history following the massive and traumatic cultural losses of the Mongol invasion and Ottoman occupation, since this attempt at the wholesale reconstruction of a national narrative did not take place in a vacuum.¹⁹ The shadow of Habsburg power, and, after 1683, its permanent and increasingly unassailable claims to the crown of Hungary, influenced Jesuit scholarship in numerous ways. Among these were the way evidence and presentation was aligned to promote Habsburg and Catholic interests and to identify the Society’s activities with these interests, as well as the locations Jesuits chose to look for documents that might have survived the cataclysm. Yet by the middle of the eighteenth century the historians of the Austrian Province were no more united in their view of Habsburg universalism versus Hungarian particularism than were their non-historian colleagues. The growing strength of Hungarian national feeling may be credited as one of the factors bringing about this lack of absolute agreement, but the gradual but real decline of the

¹⁸ The most famous accusations of forgery directed against the pre-Suppression Jesuits concerned the *Ezour Veda* or *Yajūr Veda*, a Hindi text that Voltaire denounced. David James Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity*, 11. Accusations—never proven—were also made that Austrian Province Jesuits manipulated two documents related to the Union of the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania.

¹⁹ A Hungarian historian minces no words about the scale of the losses incurred after 1526, calling the period one of “the physical and spiritual destruction of the country.” Péter, “The Later Ottoman Period and Royal Hungary, 1606–1711,” 117.

universalist vision of the Society after the passing of the High Baroque was an equally important factor. One needs only to read the travel diary from the 1760s of Rogerius Boscovich, the Croatian Jesuit scientist, to realize how for at least a few influential Jesuits of the Austrian Province the seventeenth-century aspiration of conversion and consolidation had been supplanted by a spirit of inquiry and Western European cosmopolitanism.²⁰

Some of the most important administrative figures within the Austrian Province were also historians of importance beyond the immediate cultural horizons of the Society. Men such as Gabriel Hevenesi (1656–1715), who was also Provincial of the Austrian Province for the last two years of his life,²¹ performed invaluable work collecting and collating documents and are among the founders of Hungarian historiography.²² This Jesuit's interests extended to the compiling of sayings attributed to St. Ignatius (the contents of which has been challenged by some historians who cannot find corroborating sources for some of the saint's dicta) and the reissuing of one of the first detailed maps of Hungary, thus employing another means, along with history, by which a physically rooted Hungarian historical identity might be constructed from existing materials.²³ Yet Hevenesi, as much as he shrewdly recognized the value of identifying, organizing, and publishing documents, was still capable of making far-fetched claims in the high baroque manner, such as that St. Francis Borgia, the third *praepositus generalis* and one of the great celebrities of Jesuit culture, had Hungarian ancestry!²⁴ Hevenesi's meticulous attention to available documents—certainly scholarship of a higher caliber than that of Inchoffer—was still not always accompanied by a critical assessment of the sources. Most importantly, the contextualizing of

²⁰ Wolff, "Boscovich in the Balkans."

²¹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 136.

²² Hevenesi's project of collating documents into 140 volumes had as its model the work of the Bollandists. *A magyar irodalom története. Vol. 3: A tizenhetedik század*, 26; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 41. He also wrote a characteristic work of Marian piety, *Calendarium Marianum e victoriis contra gentiles, Turcas, haereticos et alios...*, published in 1685. Kulcsár, *Inventarium*, 234.

²³ This work—*Parvus Atlas Hungariae* (Viennae: Voigt, 1689)—was an important compilation and revision of earlier maps of Hungary. Szathmáry, *Térképkincsek Kalocsán*, 16.

²⁴ Hevenesi, *Ungaricae Sanctitatis Indicia*, 101.

materials remained largely absent from Jesuit historical writing as the eighteenth century began. Jesuit history in Hevenesi's day was still ultimately a tool to further an already existing ecclesiastical and dynastic agenda, but one tied less to details of contemporary politics than to the long-term project of advancing and securing the positions of both the Church and the Habsburgs in a region where the positions of each were now more secure. And like Hevenesi's own life, the history generated by Jesuit historians of this era was strongly flavored both with the continuing exposure to the Turkish and rebel threats (Hevenesi was born in Vas county, close to the frontier, and traveled to the edges of the Province while Provincial) and with asceticism, and still connected to the study of other sciences and to theology. And while undoubtedly an awareness of Hungarian identity also colored most of the works of the high baroque Hungarian Jesuit historians, this awareness seldom extended to a promotion of language, folkways or other reference points that would be central to late eighteenth and nineteenth-century nationalists.

Jesuit writers like the Bohemian-born Rudolf Bzenszky (1651–1715), although their work as historians was not as systematic as Timon's nor as protracted as Hevenesi's, made invaluable contributions to our knowledge of the events that they had lived through while serving on the outer reaches of Habsburg domains, including Austrian-occupied Belgrade.²⁵ On a very different level scholastics such as "M. Georgius Ferding," who served as the historian of the Uzhhorod community in 1730, artlessly chronicled the events around them, thereby adding to the cumulative data known about Jesuit schools and missions and indirectly influencing the crafting of the larger narrative of the Province.²⁶ Collectively Jesuit historians worked to create a narrative that integrated ecclesiology and national history. In doing so they not coincidentally also provided another setting in which to demonstrate their skill in Latin and their powers of persuasion while reiterating their apostolic message. But as with other aspects of the project of Jesuits in the Habsburg East, the path of the historian was not always an easy one.

²⁵ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 41; Molnár, "Rudolf Bzenszky, SJ," 72–74; Erdélyi Károly, "Bzenszky Rudolf 1631–1715." A letter from Bzenszky appears in Miroslav Vanino, ed., *Croatia Sacra. Godina I*. See also Vanino, "Isusovci u Beogradu," 21.

²⁶ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 51r, JLB.

Samuel Timon, whom we have already met, was perhaps the most influential Jesuit historian ever to emerge from the Danube Basin and one of the most important Latin writers of baroque Hungary. A native of Trenčín County, he received his early schooling in Trenčín during the last period when this town lay close to the Ottoman frontier, and later spent many years in Košice. Not only did Timon train a generation of Jesuit historians, but his methodological rigor, which went significantly beyond that achieved by any of his Austrian predecessors, and his productivity assured him of a wide audience.²⁷ Timon's scholarship was cited by Hungarian Jesuits working into the period of the Suppression, among them the distinguished librarian and historian Georgius Pray.²⁸ Timon's researches even contributed to a petition made in 1791 by Romanians seeking redress for their constitutional disabilities.²⁹ Timon's compositions not only developed the connections between the medieval and baroque culture of the Danube Basin, but also, by tracing the foundation of the Jesuit university of Trnava, made the case for the importance of higher education in Habsburg Hungary.³⁰ Claimed today by both Slovaks and Hungarians, Timon attempted to confront the hostility between these two populations that

²⁷ Litva, "Timon, Samuel," in O'Neill and Dominguez, eds., *Diccionario*, iv, 3802–3803; Richard Marsina, "Samuel Timon a jeho predstavy," 247.

²⁸ *Annales Regum Hungariae ab anno Christi CMXCVII ad annum MDCXIV deducti... opera et studio Georgii Pray...*, 3 vols. (Vindobonae: Typis Joannis Thomae de Trattner 1776), iii, 273. Pray's even more influential project, carried out over decades following the Suppression, was his three volume *Historia Regum Hungariae* (Budae: Regia universitatis Pestanae typographia, 1799–1801). Another Jesuit owing a debt to Timon was Thomas Rost, whose *Epitome Chronologica Rerum Hungaricarum a navitate D. Stephani ad annum 1576* (Cassoviae: Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1736) drew upon Timon's chronology. Kosáry, *Művelődés*, 146; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 188; Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, xi, 1198.

²⁹ *The Supplex Libellus Valachorum*. Trencsényi and Kopeček, eds., *Discourses of Collective Identity*, 280.

³⁰ Timon reported the oration given by Thomas Jászberényi at the opening of the Trnava University in 1635, in which Jászberényi proclaimed, "Nihil esse praestantius pro bono, ac salute Hungariae Academiarum institutione." (Nothing is of greater excellence for the good and the health of Hungary than the establishment of academies.) Timon, *Purpura Pannonica*, 263.

was already evident in the early eighteenth century.³¹ In *Imago Antiquae Hungariae* (Cassovia, 1773), Timon argued that the invading Magyars had not defeated the previously dominant Slovaks in the Early Middle Ages, but rather that the two groups had concluded a contract that enabled them to live peaceably together.³² Timon's motives for proposing this theory (which has not been borne out by modern scholarship) may have been several. Foremost in the mind of all Jesuits committed to the Society's enterprise was the overcoming of loyalties that might challenge or undermine the mission of the Universal Church. Closely related to this concern was the preoccupation of many—if not all—Hungarian Jesuits: the cultivation of a loyalty to the Habsburgs that transcended ethnic preoccupations and was rooted instead in geography and in the claims of the monarch rather than in language, and in the universal nature of Catholicism rather than in a specific ethnic or linguistic culture.³³ Yet it is also possible that Timon identified with both ethnicities and sought reconciliation for personal reasons as well. Indeed, identification with one or more national or linguistic groups was a consistent feature of the populations living within the boundaries of the Austrian Province and provided the backdrop for many of the Jesuit historical investigations of the eighteenth century. Clearly this Jesuit historian felt no reluctance to draw upon the work of the Utraquist Czech exile Jakob Jacobaeus (c. 1591–1645), *Viva Gentis Slavonicae delineatio* (1642).³⁴ Nor did Timon flinch at expressing praise for a stridently Lutheran printer of the sixteenth century, Joannes Honterus (1498–1549).³⁵ Tracing the paths of Hungarian speakers who wandered far to the east, Timon even recorded the migration of “Transylvanian Hussites” to Moldavia in the fifteenth century.³⁶

³¹ Timon may have been the author of a pioneering version of Alvarez's grammar that included Slovak and Hungarian.

³² Mikuš, *Slovakia: A Political and Constitutional History*, 24.

³³ Yet a legend persisted that Hungarian Jesuits had helped Francis II Rákóczi to escape from the fortress of Wiener Neustadt on 7 November 1701. Lendvai, *The Hungarians*, 150–151.

³⁴ Stolarik, “Communications,” 650.

³⁵ “... vir cum scientiis variis excultus, tum verò Lutheri doctrinâ plenissimus.” (... a man as learned in various sciences as he was filled with the doctrine of Luther.) Timon, *Epitome Chronologica*, 260.

³⁶ Dobre, *Mendicants in Moldavia*, 69.

In his treatment of the lands of the Habsburg East and beyond, Timon made what were probably innocent errors of association common to his contemporaries; for example, he equated “Cumania” with Moldavia and asserted “Chuni, progenies Hunorum...” (Cumans, offspring of the Huns...).³⁷ By finding what he believed to be shared or parallel ancestries among the earliest known inhabitants of the Danube Basin and surrounding northern territories, Timon furthered his program of promoting irenic compatibility among the later inhabitants of the region, while simultaneously continuing the Jesuit practice of “discovering” equivalencies and employing them to rationalize new information. Both the “Antiqua” and “Nova Hungaria” which the historian envisioned had elements within it that were identifiably Magyar: the tale of the transaction whereby the Magyars gained control of the Danube Basin was derived from the legend of the White Horse that had its roots in pre-Christian Magyar legend.³⁸

Whatever his motives, Timon’s construction of an historical narrative that sought to prove the original amity of ethnic groups now in growing rivalry addressed more than one problem. By producing a coherent “Catholic history,” complete with heroes and milestones, Timon and his colleagues also supported the ecclesiastical hierarchy at a point when religious minorities, despite the vigorous efforts of Austria for more than half a century, continued to resist assimilation into a homogeneous Catholic polity.³⁹ Along with the drive to reestablish continuity and legitimacy for Catholicism, the work of historians such as Timon filled a void in the literary culture of Transylvania and the surrounding regions that had begun in the final decades of the seventeenth century. The ideals of amity and unity were especially important to the Society’s work along the Habsburg peripheries where any sense of Habsburg liberation from Turkish dominance would be lacking.

³⁷ Timon, *Imago Novae Hungariae*, 83. Timon, like many of his contemporaries, also believed that the Székely people were the “authentic Magyars” who could trace their ancestry from the Huns.

³⁸ Szovák, “A fehérló-monda kérdéséhez.”

³⁹ The most explicit example of this “Catholic” narrative is found in Timon’s *Purpura Pannonica*, where the lives of medieval to contemporaneous Hungarian cardinals are presented in a chronological sequence that minimizes the vast gap occasioned by Ottoman occupation.

Timon may also have been the author of an important history of the Hungarian city that played such a key role in the securing of northeastern Hungary for the dynasty, *Cassovia Vetus et nova chronologice prae-posita* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis S. J., 1732).⁴⁰ In all, Timon's historical interests were fairly broad, but many of the problems his work addresses had particular resonance along the northern periphery.

Like Timon, Carolus Péterffy (1700–1746) is claimed by both Slovaks and Hungarians although his noble rank would point more toward a Hungarian ancestry.⁴¹ Péterffy's contribution to Hungarian historiography is a massive survey of Church councils held in Hungary, based on material assembled by Hevenesi.⁴² And while this undertaking might seem to place Péterffy in the company of more rigidly Catholic seventeenth-century historians, in fact he was prepared to undertake the history of Orthodox Moldavia at the invitation of its Prince when his premature death cut short the project.⁴³ At about the same time that Timon's work was starting to be published, the Trnava press was producing a very different kind of historical work by a Jesuit-trained Croatian, Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713). *Bossna captiva sive Regnum et Interitus Stephani ultimi Bossnae Regis* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, per Joannem Henricum Geich, 1713) is neither triumphalist nor linked to a Hungarian national narrative nor to Habsburg claims. Instead *Bossna Captiva* relates the tragedy of Stephen Tomašević, king of Bosnia, who was defeated by the Ottomans and beheaded in 1463. Published at a point when Turkish power was retreating and the future of Bosnian Catholics was far more secure

⁴⁰ This theory is put forward by Krones in *Zur ältesten Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau*, 4. The book's author is more generally identified as the Jesuit Joannes Tersztyánszky (1706–1781), who also taught in Košice. Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 78. This ambiguity regarding the intellectual origins of significant works of late baroque scholarship is suggestive of both the drawing force of the Society's collective identity and the interchangeable nature of assignments within that Society—even at a point when this interchangeability was proving impractical.

⁴¹ Chindriș, *Cultură și societate*, 63.

⁴² Carolus Péterffy, *Sacra concilia ecclesiae romano-catholicae in regno Hungariae celebrata ab anno Christi 1016. usque ad annum 1734*, 2 vols. (Posonii, 1741–1742).

⁴³ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 262.

than it had been for generations, Ritter Vitezović's work suggests the degree to which the Jesuit managed press, operating in the midst of one of the Society's strongholds, could embrace a broader view of regional history, one that reflected neither Counter-Reformation ideology nor the Hungarian preoccupation with Magyar roots. Yet *Bossna captiva* remains, all the same, a Jesuit-sponsored account from the periphery of Christian, Catholic Europe.

It is characteristic of the eastern Austrian Province of the early eighteenth century that simultaneously with Timon's sophisticated work a Jesuit press printed a chronicle that in some ways was more traditional. In 1732 the Košice press produced *A' Magyar Kronikanak a mellyet elsőben meg-írt s'ki- bocsátott nemzetes Petthő Gergely... 373. esztendőitől 1623. esztendeig...* (Nyomtatott Cassan az Académiai betőkkel P. Jesuitáknál, 1734). The book is described as "Commissioned and set forth by the Jesuit Andreas Spangár." Spangár (1677–1744), a veteran of administrative and teaching work in Uzhhorod, Pécs, and Eger, produced a book which, while it was not immediately imitated, shows a number of remarkable features.⁴⁴ Composed in Hungarian, the *Kronika* was probably intended for student use, and a surviving copy contains marginal drawings that appear to have been made by a young person. Spangár, whose career as a Jesuit lay outside the pattern of his confreres who produced ambitious Latin tomes, drew upon the work of the Croatian Catholic chronicler Gregorius Pettheö (1570–1629) but was influenced by Protestant writers as well.⁴⁵ Spangár's straightforward use of the term "pápista," an uncomplimentary word for Catholic, is unexampled but whether its presence is due to the careless recopying of this pejorative term, or a willingness to use a connotative vernacular term cannot be determined.⁴⁶ But more conspicuous is Spangár's interest in the Hun-Magyar connection. The efforts of St. Theotimus (fl. c. 400) to convert the Huns are presented as largely successful, and Charles Robert of Anjou's fourteenth-century

⁴⁴ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 1417–1418. Two pages of the *Magyar Krónika* appear in Szántó, *A szép magyar könyv*, plates 145–146.

⁴⁵ Horányi, *Memoria*, iii, 72.

⁴⁶ *A' Magyar Kronikanak*, part 1, 41. Thanks to Dr. Vadász István of the Kiss Pál Múzeum in Tiszafüred for making this book available.

kingdom is called “Hunna.”⁴⁷ Drawing together narratives of the exploits of contemporaneous Jesuits and those of the presumed relatives of the Magyars, Spangár notes that a Jesuit sojourning in the court of the Shah of Persia in 1722 encountered “kunok.”⁴⁸ Finally this Jesuit historian uses the *Litterae Annuae Residentiae Patakiensis* to tell his story, thereby linking Latin internal documents of the Society with a text intended for youths or for an adult audience that could not read Latin.⁴⁹

Despite the work of Spangár and many others the Society had in fact added to the decline in published literary activity along the periphery through its repression of Protestant schools and its takeover of non-Catholic presses, although in some cases it merely co-opted elements of the existing book culture to root more securely literate Catholic culture. An additional challenge for Timon and his Jesuit contemporaries was the slowing rate of progress, as defined by conversions and expansion of the various Uniate projects, experienced by the Society that became increasingly evident as the eighteenth century progressed. By the end of Timon’s career almost two centuries had elapsed since the commencement of the Council of Trent, and almost as long a period since the first Jesuits had entered Hungary. The creation of two Uniate churches, the founding of Jesuit schools throughout all of Hungary, and the uninterrupted political dominance of the House of Austria for more than a generation had allowed the Society to accomplish much. But the Austrian Province suffered as much from the well-documented crisis of the Society in the 1740s and 50s as any other administrative unit. Despite the presence of a few talented home-grown scientists and mathematicians, the intellectual climate of the eastern Austrian Province in the eighteenth century was not always lively.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *A’ Magyar Kronikanak*, part 1, 191.

⁴⁸ *A’ Magyar Kronikanak*, part 1, 46.

⁴⁹ *A’ Magyar Kronikanak*, part 1, 77.

⁵⁰ The first algebra text produced in Hungary was written by a Košice Jesuit, Michael Lipsicz (1703–1766), and published in 1738. *Algebra seu analysis speciosa* (Cassoviae: Typ. Acad. S. J., 1738). Lipsicz’s other publications include *Statica de Varietate* (Cassoviensis: Typis Academicis S. J., 1738), which gave some acknowledgement to Newtonian mechanics, and *Hungaria coelestis astronomiam et chronologiam in synopsi complectens* (Cassoviae: Typ. Acad. S. J., 1741). Kosáry, “A művelődés késő barokk változatai,” 810. Like

In this atmosphere of slowing momentum, the question, "Why write history?" generated different responses from various Jesuits. While these differences might have existed earlier under a pious surface that masked much, they become increasingly apparent after 1730, which was also the point at which, as we have seen, Jesuit-produced history texts were beginning to appear in Hungary. One of these, *Imperatores Ottomanici a capta Constantinopoli...* 9 vols. (Tyrvaviae: Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1747–1751), by Nicolaus Schmitth (1707–1767) contained much about Turkish cruelty but relatively little that reflected a Baroque piety or a preoccupation with Habsburg dynastic claims.

Many Jesuits active at mid-century took on local history, which often meant the history of their places of origin, paying especial attention to diplomatics, thereby providing models for their non-Jesuit students who would continue to compose geographically and ethnically localized history.⁵¹ Some former Jesuits such as Pray remained active after 1773,⁵² and together with Stephanus Kaprinai (1714–1785), who worked on the fringe of the Habsburg realms in Košice, Cluj, and Sárospatak and survived until 1786,⁵³ they laid the foundation for the critically-based historical work of the early nineteenth century and became major players in the creation of a Hungarian national consciousness derived from the retelling of Hungarian history. Pray, like all of the more able Jesuit intellectuals active in the late eighteenth century, did not spend his most productive time as a Jesuit along the Habsburg periphery,⁵⁴ but as a historian he was deeply concerned with this periphery as a setting for the military exploits of many of Hungary's kings.⁵⁵ But it was Pray's mistak-

many other eighteenth-century Hungarian Jesuits, Lipsicz taught sciences and mathematics as well as theology. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 1861.

⁵¹ While inspired by the ambitious researches of such Jesuit historians as Daniel Papebroek (1628–1714), the specific circumstances of Jesuits trained for service in and then often assigned to remote communities constrained the scope of their activities.

⁵² Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 277.

⁵³ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 916–920; Hölvényi, "A magyar jezsuita történetírók," 238.

⁵⁴ Early in his career Pray taught in Trenčín, Oradea, Nové Zámky, and Rožňava. Koch, *Jesuitenlexikon*, 1464.

⁵⁵ E.g., the account of the campaigns of Matthias Corvinus along the Moldavian frontier in *Annales Regum Hungariae*, iii, 273.

en continuation of the conflation of the ancient Hungarians with Asian tribes linked (however tenuously) with the Huns that was ironically the former Jesuits' most significant contribution to Hungarian historiography of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

We have already met Martinus Cseles (1641–1709), one of the teachers in Košice captured and transported in the Thököly uprising.⁵⁷ Born near the Turkish frontier in western Hungary and educated at the nearby university of Trnava, Cseles occupies a special position in the debate about the origins of the Hungarians, since in 1695 while working in the Vatican Archives he discovered manuscripts detailing the journey of “Brother Julianus,” a thirteenth-century Dominican friar who traveled into Central Asia from Hungary in search of *Magna Hungaria*.⁵⁸ Given the Austrian Society's longstanding and remarkably positive relationship with Armenians, it is notable that Cseles was put on the track of *Magna Hungaria* by a conversation with an Armenian hermit.⁵⁹ Having traversed with three other Dominicans the empire

⁵⁶ Pray apparently took his cue from the work of Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux* (Paris, 1756–1758). Vámos, “Hungarian Missionaries in China,” 217–218. Yet the Hungarian Jesuit fascination with the Huns stretched back decades earlier. Franciscus Kazy, the historian of the Trnava university, published as early as 1731 a poem entitled *Hunnias, sive hunnorum e Scythia asiatica egressus, honoribus [...] neo-baccalaureorum, dum in universitate S. J. Tyrnaviensi philosophiae laurea condecorarentur*. Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 173. See also Ábrahám, “The Image of Attila.”

⁵⁷ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, ii, 1716–1717.

⁵⁸ Szelestei, *Irodalom és Tudományszervezési törekvések*, 124, citing Vásáry, “A jezsuita Cseles Márton és a Juliánus-jelentés, 261–275; Szilas, “Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte,” 182. Julianus's theorizing about the origins of central Asia populations would be echoed by Jesuit historians centuries later: His belief that the Mongols were “Ishmaelites” has the same striving after distinguished antecedents as Jesuit claims for the Biblical origins of the Magyars. Closey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 94; Kontler, *History*, 43–44.

⁵⁹ “Anno 1695, die octava Aprilis locutus sum quodam eremita Armeno, Josepho nuncupato, qui refert, apud Turcas audivisse de Hungaria minore, et de Hungaria maiore...” (On the 8th of April 1695 I spoke with a certain Armenean hermit, Joseph by name, who said that among the Turks he had heard of Lesser Hungary, and of Greater Hungary...) Cited in Fejér, *Aborigines et Incunabula Magyarorum*, 106.

of the Tatars who were soon to devastate Hungary, Brother Julianus claimed to have found a pagan community far to the east of the medieval Hungarian kingdom whose inhabitants still spoke Hungarian and were therefore presumably related to the Magyar tribes that had headed westward from the steppes in the eighth or ninth century.⁶⁰ The question of the origins of the Magyars developed in the eighteenth century into far more than an academic debate: It was a point of reference that set Hungarians apart from, among others, the German-speaking Habsburgs, and from perhaps most notably Joseph II. This uncrowned and ultimately much resented king from 1780 to 1790 had little use for Hungarian language and traditions and destroyed the last elements of the Danubian baroque culture fostered for so long by the Society.

At the same time the belief that the Magyars were descended from the Huns was both a source of pride but also a potential difficulty for those who were devout Catholics. The appearance of Attila and his hordes could not be regarded as anything but a catastrophe for Christian Europe, yet there remained for many Hungarians a palpable pride in his martial accomplishments, something clung to all the more urgently in the face of Ottoman occupation and which they did not abandon under Habsburg rule.⁶¹ Preoccupation with the supposed connection between the Huns and Magyars stretched back many centuries, and had been cultivated by such rulers as Matthias Corvinus.⁶² The claim that the Székely were descendents of Hunnish peoples “left behind” as Attila’s forces retreated was likewise repeated by Franciscus Wagner, an Austrian Jesuit historian.⁶³ No Jesuit of his day was more self-consciously Catholic in his approach to history than Martinus Szentiványi (1633–1705), who nevertheless had no trouble declaring

⁶⁰ Julian’s letter describing his travels is quoted extensively Dienes, “Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans,” although Dienes does not credit Cseles with its discovery.

⁶¹ Poetic expressions of this pride are found as early as the 1670s. Howarth, *Attila King of the Huns*, 186.

⁶² Leonardo Bruni, a 15th century Italian Humanist whose works were part of Matthias’s famed library, also composed *Leonardo Aretanus in vitam et Mortem Attilae regis Ungariae*, a surviving manuscript copy of which may also have been housed in the Bibliotheca Corviniana. <http://www.corvinafoundation.org/part-11.htm>

⁶³ Wagner, *Introductio in Universalem Historiam pars quinta...*, 87–88.

“Hunni, Auares, Hungari, idem populus est” (Huns, Auares, Hungarians are the same people).⁶⁴ A contemporary of Martinus Cseles, Michael Földvári (1672–1746), had explored this topic with his *Quaestiones Historicae de Rebus Hunnicis, Auaricis, et Hungaricis* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, per Joannem Henricum Geich, 1712) perpetuating the notion of connections between Huns and Magyars.⁶⁵ Among other attempts to establish the antecedents of the Magyars, Földvári, in the best Baroque tradition that sought to connect Hebrew and Hungarian, turned to the Old Testament, and cited authorities connecting Magog with the name Magyar.⁶⁶ Elsewhere the similarity of the names Magyar and Mogol [i.e., Mongol] is used to claim an “affinitas” between these two peoples.⁶⁷ Földvári’s *Quaestiones* have been cited as evidence of how the work of Otrókoci Főris, produced while the convert was still a Calvinist, soon came to have a decisive influence on Jesuit historiography.⁶⁸ Yet other factors within the Jesuit community, such as Cseles’s unpublished discoveries, acted as an impetus to this kind of elaboration of the ur-history of the Magyars. While Cseles’s findings by no means repudiated the claims of a Hun-Magyar connection, they provided another connection to the Hungarian past that this time posed no difficulties for the devout Catholic—or Protestant.

Another impetus existed for Cseles, a Jesuit of the Habsburg borderland. Tracking the path of a Hungarian cleric belonging to what was then a new Catholic order and who had journeyed eastward through pagan lands towards a community with which he could communicate was

⁶⁴ Martinus Szentiványi, *Curiosiora*, decade 3, part 1, 235.

⁶⁵ Földvári, who taught in Trnava and Cluj, was not otherwise distinguished as a historian. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 83. His *Quaestiones* is extremely rare; the writer thanks the Széchényi National Library for providing images of this volume.

⁶⁶ Földvári, *Quaestiones*, 78.

⁶⁷ Földvári, *Quaestiones*, 67.

⁶⁸ Szabados, “A krónikáktól a Gestáig”. <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00001/00007/szabados.htm>. Otrókoci Főris’s *Origines Hungaricae; Sev Liber, Quo Vera nationis Hungaricae Origo & Antiquitas è Veterum Monumentis & Linguis praecipuis, panduntur...* (Franequerae: Leonardi Strik, 1693) draws a connection between Hercules and ancient Hungarians, thereby providing an ancestor who might further support the Jesuit symbol of a “Christian Hercules” fighting the Turks.

a fitting task for a member of the Austrian Province. This was the province that sixty years earlier had sent a man to the edge of Crimean Tartary and which counted among its priests one who had traveled across Muscovy to China.⁶⁹ In Julianus Hungarian Jesuits could find a precursor who combined awareness of his Magyar origins, bravery, fortitude, and an attraction to the east. The story of Julianus was also a triumph of a servant of the Church struggling in a solitary fashion and overcoming adversity, distance, and despotism, a theme with natural appeal to many Hungarian Jesuits, whatever their attitude towards Habsburg hegemony.

Cseles identified documents relating to the odyssey of Brother Julianus and made copies of 12 (according to some accounts 11) volumes of material, which are now in the Eötvös Loránd University Library in Budapest.⁷⁰ Cseles had been sent to Rome by Gabriel Hevenesi, then Provincial, the first time that a Hungarian Jesuit had been given an assignment that dealt explicitly with archival research—although the official cover for Cseles's sojourn was that he was to serve as a "poenitentiarius" for Hungarian pilgrims to the Eternal City. Yet the Jesuit scholar ran into trouble with his investigations of the history of the episcopal see of Modruš, in modern day Croatia. An undated "Informatio" from the archives of the papal nuncio to Vienna asserts:

⁶⁹ Paulus Beke (1609–?), a native of the district around Mukacheve, in 1644 had traveled to Csöböröcsök which actually lay in Crimean Tartary, although he was soon in serious trouble with a Catholic archbishop. Among his other accomplishments was the establishment of a school in Iași where youths were trained to greet the Prince, Vasile Lupu, in Romanian, Greek, and Latin. Mikecs, "A Kárpátokon túli magyarság," 490 [adatbank.transindex.ro/html/alcim_pdf3477.pdf]. Beke was dismissed from the Society shortly afterwards and disappeared from sight. Benda, ed., *Moldvai Csángó-Magyar Okmánytár* ii, 696; Călinescu, "Altre notizie," 170; 191; 337; Kálmán Thaly, "Bessarábiai magyarok"; Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 546; Benda, "Csöböröcsök," 907. Joannes Grueber (1623–1680) endured illness, hunger, thirst, and many other hardships on his journey from Europe to China, which at one point included travel in a caravan. Grueber composed a biography of Confucius among many other works, finally dying in Sárospatak. Weiser, *Vitae Patrum*, 91; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 111; Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travelers in Central Asia*, 338; *Elogia Defunctorum* IX, Ms. I, Ab 145, fol. 504, ELTEK. The travels of Franciscus Ravasz (1646–1727) in Bessarabia also deserve mention, although little is known about his activities there. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1727*, B. P. V. 12.265, fol. 107r, ÖNB.

⁷⁰ Borsa, "A Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár," 666–667.

P. Martinus Czeles [sic], S. J. qui huius difficultatis fuit auctor, allegat varias rationes dictis ministris communicatas favore nominationis etiam pro episcopatu Modr [Modruš], sed nullum aliud habetur responsum, nisi haec omnia fuisse considerata in Congr. Consistoriale 24 Aug. 1666 et nihilominus fuit deventum ad superscriptam resolutionem...⁷¹

Cseles appears to have run afoul of the conflict between the furthering of the influence of the local ordinary and the documented objections to this promotion of a bishop. His loyalties lay perhaps much more with the Society than with any geographical location or ethnic group, and perhaps for this reason he has been described as the “cause of the difficulty” (auctor difficultatis). The matter, it appears, had only one legitimate outcome: It was to be settled in Rome by one of the August Congregations of the Holy See, and perhaps Cseles had overstepped his bounds by inserting himself in the dispute. A case of a meddling Jesuit or of someone better informed about local conditions and history? Or both? Yet despite Cseles’s obvious interest in the proto-history of the Magyars, and his problems with the hierarchy, he is credited with influencing the development of “Baroque Slavism” during his years in Royal Hungary. Cseles occupies a transitional position between the staunchly Counter-Reformation culture of the seventeenth century and the growing passion for a national narrative that would dominate in the second half of the eighteenth century. His simultaneous assignments as confessor and archival researcher remind us both of the versatility of his generation of Jesuits, but also of the constant dilution of the energies of the competent specialists among them. But he was not the founder of an identifiable “school” in the way that Timon was, although like Timon, Cseles was later claimed by both Hungarians and Slovaks for their own divergent nationalistic cultural narratives.⁷²

Another Jesuit looking to the east of the Austrian Province was Franciscus Borgia Kéri (1702–1768).⁷³ Born in Zemplén County, Kéri specialized in Greek and produced a textbook of Byzantine history, *Historiae Byzantinae epitome, e compluribus Graecis praecipue scriptoribus concinnata*, 3 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Collegii Academici Soc.

⁷¹ 1698 or 1699, in Vanyó, ed., *A bécsi pápai követség*, 329.

⁷² Cambel et al., eds., *Dejiny Slovenska II*, 290.

⁷³ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 180–181.

Jesu, 1743). But unlike Cseles's work, Kéri's scholarship did not reflect original archival investigations and was derived heavily from the earlier work of du Cange and Keglivich.⁷⁴ While insignificant as far as its direct impact on Hungarian cultural history, this text represents a major strand in the academic work of eighteenth century Hungarian Jesuits, one that supported the existing network of schools and which sought to synthesize and simplify existing knowledge. A later work on the Byzantine Emperors down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is far more ambitious: A folio sized book, it employs numismatic evidence and cites contemporaneous sources.⁷⁵ Such publications functioned to increase knowledge of the Eastern Church, which would serve the Society's unending efforts to foster unions of the Ruthenian and Transylvanian Orthodox Churches with Rome. Kéri also makes careful note of when Greek historians first acknowledge the existence of the Magyars, who were also called Turks: "quos Ungaros, modo Turcos appellitant..." thereby contributing modestly to the contemporaneous discussion of the historical record of the origins of the Magyars.⁷⁶ It is also characteristic of the literary culture of the Austrian Province, where would-be specialists in multiple fields composed devotional or dogmatic works, that Kéri wrote a work defending the Immaculate Conception and constructed a telescope in Trnava that won the approval of Cassini.⁷⁷ Kéri was thus a very late, perhaps too late, example of the useful baroque Jesuit polymath.

Many Jesuits, particularly after 1730, wrote about specific aspects of Hungarian history or about individual regions of the kingdom, often without the explicitly pro-Roman Catholic or pro-Habsburg tone of their predecessors. Carolus Wagner (1732–1790) seems to have avoided the controversies that occasionally plagued other Jesuit historians, and after writing on the history of the Spiš district, during the post-Suppression era was appointed professor of ecclesiastical history in Trnava by Maria Theresia.⁷⁸ Wagner also collated the unpublished

⁷⁴ Krumbacher, "Bibliographische Notizen."

⁷⁵ Kéri, *Imperatores Orientis*.

⁷⁶ Kéri, *Imperatores Orientis*, 263.

⁷⁷ Maynard, *The Studies and Teaching of the Society of Jesus*, 203.

⁷⁸ Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 386; Hölvényi, "A magyar jezsuita történetírók," 12–13.

manuscripts of Timon, whose scholarship served as a model for his own work. Stephanus Kaprinai, who studied in Košice and taught in Cluj and Sárospatak, made important collations of documents still in existence and is reputed to have collected documents concerning Rome.⁷⁹ His monumental collection of documents dating from the time of Matthias Corvinus is an expression of the connection between Hungarian and “universal history” framed by ecclesiological considerations.⁸⁰ This connection waned with the fading of the baroque era, while the emphasis on diplomatics continued to be supplemented by the needs of *academia* students seeking an overview of history. The *Compendium Historicum* of sometime playwright and translator Franciscus Kunics (1697– after 1762) who also had longstanding ties to Košice, was used in this way.⁸¹ Joannes Kornéli (Kornélyi) (1686–1748), who taught in Košice and Cluj, wrote on the Thököly uprising, which despite its anti-Habsburg and largely anti-Catholic tone, he dignified with the designation “civil war.”⁸²

⁷⁹ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 916–920; Hölvényi, “A magyar jezsuita történetírók,” 7. Hölvényi unfortunately does not provide a citation to support this claim. Kaprinai is also credited with having kept a diary (“napló”) describing the events during Rákóczi’s campaign in western Hungary. Kálmán Thaly, “Dunántúli Hadjárat 1707-ben,” 473.

⁸⁰ *Hungaria diplomatica temporibus Mathiae de Hunyad Regis Hungariae Pars I. complectens specimen praevisum diplomaticum historico-criticum de electione regis... Pars II. complectens analecta diplomatum, aliorumque documentorum, res Hungariae ejus temporis illustrantium, cum epitome praevisia historico-diplomata ac subjectis scholiis a tempore interregni ad annum usque 1461* (Vindobonae: Trattner, 1767–1771). In this work Kaprinai drew on documents identified decades earlier by Cseles.

⁸¹ *Compendium historicum de regnis et aliis orbis provinciis* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis 1733). Nagy, “A Jézus Társaság budai gimnáziuma,” 96; Szinnyi, *Magyar Írók*, vii, 492. Kunics’s most notable dramatic offering was *Szedecziás* (1753), a translation of a work by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Granelli. Beöthy, *A magyar irodalom története*, i, 494.

⁸² Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 193–194; *Fragmenta Ungaricae historiae ab a. 1663 ... ad annum Christi 1678. & sequentes. Prosecutionem belli civilis auspiciis Emerici Tökölii et alias res gestas complexa* (Cassoviae: Typ. Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1743). Géza, ed. *Magyarország Bibliographiája*, i, 819. Kornéli’s work was one of three volumes published anonymously. Hóman, “A ‘Libelli graduales’ könyvtári feldolgozása,” 68. The writer has been unable to obtain a copy of *Fragmenta Ungaricae historial*

The looming presence of the periphery, never far from Trnava or even from Buda, was one of several factors that shaped the historical work of Jesuits of the Austrian Province who had ties to Hungary. There were three reasons for this influence. First, from 1690 onward this periphery now included the farther reaches of Transylvania, which had been the scene of some of the most stirring moments and home to many of the greatest heroes in the recent—and earlier—history of the larger region. Transylvania had produced a flourishing Hungarian language book culture and indigenous architecture and plastic arts when Ottoman Hungary was an impoverished wasteland. Transylvania was also where the Society encountered the greatest challenge to its attempts to dominate intellectual life in the Habsburg East, since here it confronted not merely a well-established Calvinist scholarly tradition and staunchly Lutheran, German-speaking communities, but also a well-educated population of Unitarians who could prove especially resistant to Jesuit efforts to impose the Society's vision of a history driven by teleology. In a different way, Jesuits also had to respond to the historical memory of the autochthonous Orthodox Church in Transylvania that rejected the Society's efforts to build a union with Rome and that drew on the ancient identity of the region as Roman "Dacia" but passed over much of Romanian history since the Middle Ages. The Principality was thus the scene of continuing Jesuit efforts, some of them abortive, to promote Catholic controversial literature and aggressively to confront Protestant confessions and Unitarianism in the vernacular.⁸³ And Transylvania was also the point of overlap, if not really tangency, between the final echoes of baroque Jesuit historiography and the birth pangs of the Transylvanian School of Romanian historiography of which the Jesuit-trained Gheorghe Sincai (1754–1818) was an outstanding exponent.⁸⁴ Finally, the Principality had been the scene

⁸³ Stoeger writes, "Horvath, Gabriel [1669–1740] ... e latino in hungaricum vertit (translated out of Latin into Hungarian): Gabrielis Szerdaheley [sic] S. J. *Collyrum de controversiis fidei*. Nagybaniae 1725. 12." *Scriptores*, 152. See also Monok, Sommer and Gábor, *Bibliotheca Nationis Hungariae*, 154.

⁸⁴ Sincai's contributions are placed in the context of the work of contemporaneous historians and linguists, including the Hungarian-born Czech Jesuit Joseph Dobrovský, in Neubauer, "Institutionalisation and Nationalisation," 103–104.

of an initially successful but ultimately failed Jesuit mission at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This made the documentation of the Jesuit relationship to the history of the region an important consideration for the Society's chroniclers.⁸⁵ A similar echo of Jesuit historiographic methods and objectives may be found in the first generation of independent historians in early nineteenth-century Ruthenia, with possible implications for other, later Uniate writings.⁸⁶ In the long run, the greatest contribution of Jesuit educators to nineteenth-century historiography occurred not merely on what had been the periphery of the Austrian Province, but beyond it, where books written by Uniates trained in Jesuit schools and which propounded a historical pedigree for Ruthenian or Rusyn culture were disseminated.⁸⁷

Secondly, the survival of Hungarian-speaking communities in the mountains of Upper Hungary or in Transcarpathia or Transylvania provided a recruitment area for Jesuits that the devastated Danube Basin for many years could not. The formative experiences of many future Jesuit historians took place in towns and hamlets that retained a continuity stretching into the medieval past. Jesuits such as Kornéli grew up in communities that remembered the upheavals of the kuruc period and the privations of the Ottoman occupation—or the successful escape from this occupation. Questions of the historic relationship between Slovaks and Hungarians, or between Székely and half-imagined tribes of Asia came to the fore quickly in environments where these populations actually lived or where the memory of them remained.⁸⁸ Jesuits who believed, rightly or not, that they were passing

⁸⁵ Georgius Daróczi, *Ortus et Progressus Collegii Academici Societatis Jesu ab anno M. D. LXXVI*. (Claudiopolitani, 1736) Daróczi also produced an "Epitome" of Hungarian and Transylvanian history. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 54.

⁸⁶ Shore, "Life and death," 630.

⁸⁷ The most important example of this legacy is Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*.

⁸⁸ The relation of the vestigial Kun or Cuman population that resided in eastern Hungary in the early modern period to Jesuit activities has received little attention. The *Cumani* would have been known to Jesuit historians such as Timon who were familiar with the *Gesta Ungarorum* of "Anonymus," a thirteenth-century royal notary, or with the diplomatics of Andrew II. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 26. Remnants of their culture, including elements of the Kun language, survived until the middle of the seventeenth century. For an early attempt to locate the arrival of the Székely, see Földvári, *Quaestiones*, 54–63.

through the “land of the Cumans” were more likely attend to historical documents dealing with this people. The Jesuit drive to “establish equivalencies” never slackened and eventually overlapped with nationalist sentiments, although the motivations for establishing these connections may have subtly shifted over time. At the same time, students who had no plans to enter the Society but were enrolled in Jesuit schools frequently came from this same periphery. Some of these would become key supporters of Jesuit schools. The *convictus nobilium* in the fortress town of Győr, for instance, established in 1653 with an endowment from the local bishop, was intended to provide schooling to the numerous offspring of the large noble class, many of whom lived nearby.⁸⁹ By the eighteenth century these youths would be learning Hungarian history, too.

Finally, because of the events of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, what was on a map seemingly the northeastern periphery of Habsburg Hungary in some sense was no periphery at all. Towns such as Košice, the would-be “capital of Hungary,” could make some legitimate claim to being a center of Hungarian political life with powerful magnates based nearby and the Habsburg court hundreds of miles away and frequently preoccupied with the politics of the Empire. Although this ceased to be as true after 1686, the importance of this community and several others to the cultural development of eighteenth century Hungary remained great. The exploration of the relation of these towns to the recent history of Hungary was a logical step to make both for writers seeking to construct a continuous narrative of Hungarian national identity and for Catholic partisans documenting the triumphalist advance of the Church. This was much less true for Transylvanian towns such as Alba Iulia or Cluj, which had been vital centers of Hungarian literary culture in the sixteenth century but which after the arrival of the Society became instead the scene of an effort to overcome Protestant and Unitarian influence and to fortify the new Uniate Church whose historical ties, as propounded by the Jesuits, were with Rome. Yet they too figured in a history of the region which the Society’s historians were assembling.

⁸⁹ *Jesuitica ad Historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae spectantia*, Pann 118.E. 41, fols. 383r–384v, PFK.

Having made the case for a real connection between the northern and northeastern peripheries of the Habsburg realms and the wider world of scholarship and inquiry we must still acknowledge Robert Kann's sweeping but sound judgment:

Conditions for the rise of creative scholarship in the Habsburg lands were usually unfavorable. Some achievements were respectable and some were original but the affiliation of creative thinkers with institutions of higher learning was tenuous.⁹⁰

Each of the historians cited here, including Timon, perhaps the greatest of them all, labored not only under the hardships created by war and occupation. There was also the ever widening gap between the intellectual ferment to the west and north and the culture of Hungary, where only a few magnates had, for example, the means to stage plays and dramas or assemble large private libraries, and where urban life, never a strong point of the kingdom, even in the glory days of Matthias Corvinus (1465–1490), had yet to regain much momentum. The burghers of Hungarian and especially of German towns, formerly a key element in book culture of the kingdom, in fact lost prominence and influence during much of the period of the Society's most ambitious publishing activities, i.e., after 1720. In the eighteenth century many aspects of social life in the Kingdom continued to resemble nothing so much as a colony of a distant power. Most of the educational enterprises of the eastern Austrian Province therefore fell into an ambiguous category, being neither in an explicitly designated colony, as were the Jesuit schools of the New World, nor special missions attached (or trying to become attached) to an oriental despotism, nor adjuncts to an already stable and solidly Catholic polity, as in Naples or Portugal. The literate culture of the Society overlay, or as in the case of Comenius, occasionally co-opted the local Protestant culture of Hungary and Transylvania, already split among ethnic and linguistic groups, and which remained divided along confessional lines. This was particularly true of history, where Lutherans and Catholics each sought to tell a story that would demonstrate that their cause was just.

⁹⁰ Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, 143.

At this point the reader may ask: Where and how do the narratives of the Society's works in Hungary and the narrative of Hungarian history composed by members of the Society intersect? The answer is not always clear. In the earliest period of Hungarian Jesuit historiography, the continuing misfortunes of a divided and partially occupied Hungary were part and parcel of the Jesuits' own story. Suffering and misfortune were either the Divine response to the failings of non-Jesuits or the framework in which the mettle of Jesuits was tested, thereby adding to the glory of the Society, its mission, and perhaps the Hungarian *Regnum Marianum* as well. But in the eighteenth century the elements of this relationship were subtly rearranged so that the writing of the history of the Hungarian crown and lands was justified on the grounds of its *de facto* existence within the gradually solidifying Habsburg *Totum*. While elements of what would grow into a Hungarian national identity derived from language and other cultural markers are sometimes glimpsed in later Jesuit historical writings, these endeavors seem as driven by a more generalized desire to add to knowledge as by any need to record the "sufferings of Hungary." The former narrative of adversity was therefore steadily replaced by a more meticulous, rational, and rationalized reporting.

In any discussion of this later generation of Hungarian Jesuit historians mention must be made of Stephanus Katona, even though his most important work was done after the Suppression.⁹¹ Trained in Košice and Trnava, while still a Jesuit Katona taught Hungarian history and added to the tradition of reference works in history for students while teaching at the Trnava university.⁹² In his *Epitome Chronologica*, which appeared in 1798, Katona continued Timon's policy of utilizing Protestant historians, making notable use of the *Notitia* of Mathias Bél (1684–1749) when analyzing the Rákóczi rebellion, demonstrating how far the former Jesuit had come from both the Catholic-oriented and a resolutely pro-Habsburg historiography of the previous generation of the Society's scholars.⁹³ Later Katona embarked on a vast

⁹¹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 170–172.

⁹² A manuscript copy, intended for review by censors, of *Synopsis chronologica Historiarum ad sublevandam memoriam historiophilorum concinnata* (Tyrnaviae, 1771–75) is reported by Szinnyei.

⁹³ Köpeczi, *Függetlenség és haladás*, 95.

project, the 42-volume *Historia Critica*, which was not published in its entirety until after his death. Not only did Katona here make extensive use of primary source documents, which he often reproduced in full, but he sought to locate Hungarian history within a larger context that was not merely ecclesiastical in its perspective or emphasis. Of all the Jesuit and ex-Jesuit historians mentioned here, Katona provided the most important bridge between the late and post baroque approach to history exemplified by Hevenesi and Timon and the flowering of nineteenth century Hungarian historical writing which reached its climax with the work of Vilmos Fraknói, himself an eager student of Jesuit history. Katona also betrays in his later writings far fewer traces of his training and orientation as a Jesuit than many other Hungarian ex-Jesuit historians. Yet he, too, had undergone the Society's program of formation and undertaken the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Adam Franciscus Kollár's career does not fit at all neatly into the story of Jesuit historians of the eastern Austrian Province, but for many reasons Kollár cannot be excluded from any discussion of the Society's activities along the northern frontier of the Province. Educated at the Jesuit schools in Banská Bystrica and Trnava, Kollár, who is remembered as one of the pioneers of Slovak historiography, often signed his name "Pannonius" (as opposed to Ungarus or Hungarus, a designation used by many eighteenth-century Jesuits of both Slovak and Hungarian backgrounds) and was concerned with, among other topics, the diplomatic history of the Hungarian monarchy.⁹⁴ After advanced study in theology in Vienna Kollár left the Society, but his subsequent activities can be seen as a natural development from the historical work on northeastern Hungary undertaken a generation earlier by Timon and from the pastoral interest the leadership of the Society had already shown in the Rusyn and in their Uniate Church.⁹⁵ Kollár's *Humillium promemoria de ortu, progressu et in Hungaria incolatu gentis Ruthenicae* was the first history of the Rusyn, making the case

⁹⁴ Horányi, *Memoria*, ii. 409.

⁹⁵ Interest in the latter was linked to the Society's efforts towards union in Poland and Lithuania. Gabriel Hevenesi carefully compiled a list of the rights and privileges of the abbots and hegumens "Ruthnicos neo-Unitos solent observari in Provincijs Regni Poloniae." Hevenesiana Tomus LXXII, Undated document, Ms. II/1, fols. 315–318, ELTEK.

that the Rusyn Uniate eparchy of Mukacheve be independent of the Catholic bishop of Eger (who could be a thorn in the Jesuits' side as well).⁹⁶ The former Jesuit's best-known work is a reasoned argument for the authority of the Apostolic Kings of Hungary (i.e., in Kollár's time, the House of Habsburg and no one else) over virtually all aspects of ecclesiastical life, a continuation of the examination of the relation between the Hungarian church and crown begun under much different circumstances by Inchoffer.⁹⁷ Placed on the *Index* and execrated by the Hungarian nobility, the book was an immense tactical failure and hardly the sort of work a Baroque Jesuit would have dared to compose, but Kollár's approach to systematic historical documentation and his support of the dynasty are nonetheless two elements of the project that continue the themes begun by earlier Jesuit historians of Hungary.⁹⁸

Lastly, although not of the stature of Katona or Pray, Carolus Franciscus Palma is a Jesuit historian whose career extended significantly into the post-Suppression era and who had especially strong ties to the periphery. Born in Ružomberok in 1735 and trained in philosophy at the Košice university, Palma continued his studies at the *Theresianum* in Vienna and then taught in Trnava.⁹⁹ Aside from a work on heraldics, he produced only one historical work while still a Jesuit: *Notitia rerum hungaricarum ab origine ad nostram usque aetatem*, 3 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Collegii Academici Soc. Jesu, 1770), in which with an echo of Baroque moralizing he was prepared to write of the vices as well as the virtues of the most celebrated of Hungarian kings, Matthias Corvinus. Palma shared Inchoffer's preoccupation with the authority and prestige of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, noting especially when this authority was extended to newly conquered (or reconquered) lands—which also happened to be recent additions to the territory under the authority of the Austrian Province.¹⁰⁰ While not a master of the

⁹⁶ Pop, "Kollár, Adam František," in Magocsi and Pop, eds., *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, 244.

⁹⁷ *De originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis legislativae circa sacra apostolicorum regum Hungariae libellus singularis* (Vindobonae: Typis Ioannis Thomae de Trattner, 1764).

⁹⁸ Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement*, 66.

⁹⁹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 250.

¹⁰⁰ "... ad Belgradum nostro exercitui se [Russi] conjungerent, mutuis postea viribus provinciarum olim ad S. Coronam Hungariae spectantium

use of primary source material like Hevenesi or Pray, Palma, who lived until 1784 but did not produce any significant historical works after the Suppression, was engaged with the question of the origins of the Hungarians and proposed that the pagan or Hunnish epoch of Magyar history was the first of four notable periods, the other three being the reigns of St. Stephen, Matthias Corvinus, and Maria Theresia.¹⁰¹ The focus on sacrally acknowledged Catholic kings (who include Maria Theresia) is still evident, but the inclusion of Attila in the Hungarian national narrative reveals the tension about the proper place of this “scourge of God” that never completely abated even among committed eighteenth-century Hungarian Catholic historians.

The northern periphery of historic Hungary, which had never suffered the same degree of destruction of its cultural treasures as had the Danube Basin, was a source of documentary materials that were mined by scholars such as Wagner, thereby providing us with glimpses of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Hungary that might otherwise have been lost.¹⁰² The destruction of Buda, with its splendid royal library and ecclesiastical records, both by the invading Ottomans and by the “liberating” Habsburgs, as well as the damage inflicted on such sites as the Benedictine abbey in Pannonhalma, created a huge lacuna both in the documentary history of Catholicism in Hungary and in the history of Hungary itself, one that has never been completely overcome. And while the exploration of surviving documentary materials by Timon and later Jesuit historians could not compensate for these losses, the publication of documents found in the archives of Upper Hungary did add important chapters to a coherent narrative of the history of the region, one that addressed the constantly growing thirst among Hungarians for an explanation of their origins. Most importantly there also remained, well into the nineteenth century and beyond, a desire to lo-

possessione Ottomannos dejecturi” (... the Russians joined our forces in Belgrade, and with this combined effort were subsequently to dislodge the Ottomans from control over provinces that had once belonged to the Holy Crown of Hungary). *Notitia Rerum Hungaricarum*, iii, 471.

¹⁰¹ Szörényi, *Studia Hungarolatina*, 164.

¹⁰² Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani* (iii, 52), records for example the torturing in 1534 of four Roma by Ulrich de Zarnahaw because they had accepted money from John de Zapolja.

cate geographically the “heart” of Hungarian cultural achievements of all kinds, a search driven both by the destruction experienced in the Danube Basin and by a growing interest in the surviving folkways of communities not located in the busier crossroads of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The efforts of Jesuit historians like Timon and Turóczi working on the peripheries contributed, albeit unwittingly, to the preservation of some of these materials and thus to our own understanding of the diversity found among the peoples of the Danube Basin.

Much later, when Transylvania would be separated by the Treaty of Trianon from Hungary and “Upper Hungary” would become part of the Czechoslovak state, these border regions would assume an even greater importance in the collective memory of a Hungarian people reeling with a sense of unjust loss. This memory, historically accurate or not, owed and still owes much to the labors of Hungarian Jesuits from the periphery, as well as other Jesuits who turned to the periphery for the raw materials of the story they were endeavoring to tell.

An Unredeemed Loss: The Jesuit Mission in Belgrade¹

Situated on a high point overlooking the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers, Belgrade has been a fortress since Roman times. The city passed under Ottoman control in 1521, and remained a center of Turkish military power until the end of the seventeenth century. While always an important center of Serbian culture, Belgrade's location destined it to serve as a crossroads for diverse groups, not the least of which were the garrison soldiers of the various powers that occupied the city. Muslim roots stretched deeply into the urban landscape, and at least 120 mosques stood within the city walls in the seventeenth century. Serbian speakers may even have been in the minority.² Belgrade was in many ways a logical place for the Society of Jesus, after its triumphant reestablishment in the Danube Basin, to seek to establish a presence. Even more importantly, the city was a gateway to cultures and institutions where the Jesuits hoped to make advances now that it had the support of nearby Austria.

In the early seventeenth century the Society had maintained a presence in the city, and sent regular reports to their Provincial in Vienna.³

¹ In the preparation of this chapter the author acknowledges support from Saint Louis University; thanks also to the staff of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Marija Petrović, and Slobodan Markovich.

² Judah, *The Serbs*, 48.

³ These records indicate a continuous Jesuit presence from 1612 until 1635, with further activities in Belgrade in 1617, 1626 and possibly 1623. *Austria* 20, fols. 11, 19; 38–118; 149; 157; 205–207; 211–212; 238, ARSI. Regarding Jesuit ownership of property in Ottoman Belgrade, see also a letter of Petrus Bosceovich, “Parocho in Samandia,” 29 August 1653, *Missio Hungarica 1607–1633 et Transylvanica 1570–1650*, *Austria* 20, fol. 294r, ARSI.

But the Jesuit mission remained small, semi-clandestine, and restricted in its activities because of the role of Belgrade as an Ottoman bulwark against Christian expansion.⁴ In 1688, Austrian forces moving down the Danube seized it, although two years later the Ottomans regained control of the city. During this brief period the Jesuits operated a larger and more systematically organized mission in Belgrade.⁵ In each of these instances the Jesuits working in the city were from the Austrian province of the Society, although Serbian territory was never technically within the boundaries of the Province. However, this mission was staffed by only four, and then the following year, three Jesuit priests, did not establish a school, and was short lived: In 1690 the Ottomans, bent on avenging the humiliating loss of territory, recaptured Belgrade in a chaotic melee; three Jesuits, including Father Thomas Glavinić, were killed in the fighting and the remaining fathers withdrew. This tragedy would turn out to be the most significant single event in the history of all the Jesuit missions in Belgrade.

Again in 1717 an Austrian army captured Belgrade, which in the meantime had been largely razed and rebuilt.⁶ A 21-year period of Habsburg control of the city and surrounding territory now began. Again, Jesuits followed in the Imperial armies, where they frequently served as chaplains, and set about establishing not merely a mission, but a more substantial presence in the community, which had an uninterrupted existence from 1722 until 1739.⁷ This was a period of peace but not of real stability, as Venice had concluded a treaty with the Porte in 1718, thereby altering the power relations in the region and leaving the Habsburgs without significant allies.⁸ The expansion of the Society's role in Belgrade was paralleled by the creation of a Catholic diocese in the city, a reflection of Habsburg hopes of recasting the boarder region as a stable part of the dynasty's domains.⁹ Yet during most of these years, a stable Catholic hierarchy had not yet been established, and

⁴ Until 1632 the Society operated a "School of Christian Sciences" that taught a Latin curriculum. Fotić, "Belgrade," 71.

⁵ Lukács, *Catalogi V*, 337.

⁶ Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xv, 103.

⁷ Velics, *Vázlatok a magyar jezsuiták multjából*, iii, 54.

⁸ Snooks, *The Dynamic Society*, 368.

⁹ Ritzler and Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 119.

from 1720 until 1729 there was no Catholic bishop resident in the city.¹⁰ Belgrade, and to an even greater extent the hinterland surrounding it, remained a frontier whose future role was uncertain. Jesuit efforts to convert the rural population of the territories now under Austrian control produced mediocre results at best.¹¹ Still, the Jesuits characteristically devoted considerable resources to this mission, and especially to the urban mission in Belgrade. Franciscus Szunyogh, S.J. (1669–1726) was active in the latter from 1720 until 1724.¹² Szunyogh, like several other Jesuits active in the Danube Basin, served in multiple capacities in the drive to unite Eastern Orthodoxy with Rome. However, Szunyogh had no particular expertise in things Serbian; he seems to have been employed in Belgrade principally because of his familiarity with Orthodox practice. In his instance, as in many others, both the manpower shortage in the Austrian Province and the lack of sophistication with which the Society sometimes approached Orthodox Christianity is apparent.

The Jesuits intended to construct a community in the newly acquired Austrian territory that would physically and organizationally resemble their projects in Transylvania and Royal Hungary; they planned a complex of Baroque edifices that would both reflect the connection of the mission to the Habsburgs and also communicate the Counter-Reformation aesthetic and Tridentine morality that the Society sought to bring to all the Habsburg lands. Major obstacles blocked the Society's way, however. As in many other areas of Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century, the plague made an appearance in Belgrade, probably arriving from Transylvania with the armies converging on the city. During a two-week period in 1730, Jesuits buried 220 persons, presumably all Catholic (although many may have converted suddenly when confronted with their own demise). In 1738, the situation was so dire that Jesuits made an appeal to their patron St. Francis Xavier in a public gathering to which, we are told, the entire city came.¹³

¹⁰ De Meyer, "Belgrade," in Coutois et al., eds, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie*, vii, 757–758.

¹¹ Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 81.

¹² Lukács, *Catalogi*, VII, 364; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vii, 1796; Rosty, "Pótló adatok," 237. Nădăban, *A Historical Analysis*, 246. See also Veress, *Bibliografia*, i, 156; Nilles, *Symbolae*, 34; 372.

¹³ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1738*, B. P. V. 12.132, fol. 201v, ÖNB.

Father Antonius Kieffer, a native of Lower Austria, worked heroically to save plague victims, but then died himself.¹⁴ The Superior of the community, Franciscus Zunk, also contracted the disease, but managed to survive, only to die the following year after the Jesuits had fled north to Osijek.¹⁵ Other Jesuit *victimae charitatis* who succumbed while nursing the sick during the same epidemic were Wrihad Levenberg and Bernardus Khabes.¹⁶ Antonius Beneken, who had taught in Trnava and Košice, died in Belgrade in 1735—likewise “in obsequio charitatis,” although it is not recorded whether plague was the cause.¹⁷

An important facet of any Jesuit mission was a school; by the time the Austrians had taken control of Belgrade the Society was not only well on its way to domination of all levels of education in most of the Habsburg lands, but had already produced many generations of men who had studied in Jesuit schools in Hungary and Transylvania. The school in Belgrade was paid for by the emperor and enjoyed some success, moving to a new location from its previous home near the Imperial barracks in 1729.¹⁸ According to some accounts the school, which hewed to the requirements of the *Ratio* in its following of the Latin curriculum, even attracted Serbian-born students.¹⁹ Among its teachers of the “inferiores classes” was Ignatius Parhammer (1715–1786), who went on to have a distinguished career as a confessor to the emperor Francis I and as the most renowned Austrian exponent of the less theatrical missionary techniques that stood in contrast to the style of Paolo Segneri (1624–1694).²⁰

The long term plan of the Society was to construct a “Jesuit quarter” in the city, complete with baroque church and residential buildings, much as was done in Cluj and other places in the Habsburg East, but the brevity of the Jesuits’ sojourn, the interruptions in their

¹⁴ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1739*, B. P. V. 12.133, fol. 88v, ÖNB. Kieffer actually died the year the Ottomans regained control of the city.

¹⁵ Pavlović, *Austrijska vladavina u severnoj Srbiji*, 60; Vanino, “Isusovci u Beogradu,” 31; 45.

¹⁶ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1738*, B. P. V. 12.132, fols. 313v–327r, ÖNB.

¹⁷ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 25–26.

¹⁸ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1729*, B. P. V. 12.123, fols. 85v, ÖNB.

¹⁹ Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung Kaiser Karls IV*, 71; Jelavich, “Some Aspects of Serbian Religious Development,” 146.

²⁰ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 252; Melton, *Absolutism*, 133.

presence, and difficulties such as the plague prevented them from creating such a “quarter.”²¹ Today no trace of the planned buildings, some which were constructed, survives. Early on, the Society occupied a parish church that was later handed over to their rivals in the region, the Franciscans. The cornerstone of a new and ambitious Jesuit church was discovered and described in the late nineteenth century but is no longer accessible to scholars.²² A single volume from the library of the Jesuit community is known to have survived, in the Székely Nemzeti Múzeum in Sfântu Gheorghe.²³ More valuable in assessing the cultural characteristics of the Jesuit mission is an image of the Mary “Auxiliatrix Christianorum” (Helper of Christians) that the fathers carried with them as they fled Belgrade after their final expulsion. The painting, now in the Jesuit church in Belgrade, is a copy of a work by Lucas Cranach the Elder located in Passau.

As in other Jesuit missions, conversion of the local population was a very high priority in Belgrade. The city’s diverse population made for encounters with many ethnic, linguistic, and confessional groups. It is somewhat surprising to read that 64 Lutherans were converted in 1727, although these were most likely soldiers of the Imperial armies stationed there. The same year two Jews were also converted.²⁴ Ironically, attempts to convert the Serbian speaking population were often less successful, in part because Czech speaking Jesuits unwisely tried to communicate with locals in the latter language, having greatly underestimated the difference between Czech and Serbian.²⁵

²¹ For a discussion of the construction of a “Jesuit Quarter” in a town in Transylvania, see Shore, “Jesuitae Fabri.”

²² Valtrović, “Kamen temeljac.”

²³ The book, a geography text, bears the inscription, “Missionis Belgradensis Soc: Jesu Ano 1738.” Previously accessible at <http://www.cosys.ro/siculica/terk1.rtf>

²⁴ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust., 1727*, B. V. P. 12.265, fol. 9v, ÖNB. There was a small permanent population of Jews in Belgrade from at least the sixteenth century, concentrated in the Dorćol district. After the Ottoman retreat “spanolisch” (Sephardic) Jews were reported living in the city. Stefanović-Vilovsky, *Belgrad unter der Regierung Kaiser Karls IV*, 75.

²⁵ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust., 1727*, B. V. P. 12.265, fol. 17v, ÖNB. In addition to their efforts to promote Uniate Churches in many of the predominantly Orthodox regions in which they worked, Jesuits expended considerable efforts on converting the populations to Roman Catholicism. Jesuits and other

During the last period of Austrian occupation of Belgrade, Father Bernhard Cerroni, who appears to have been something of a “freelance missionary,” taking his mission to all parts of the Habsburg realms, established a mission in 1734, although the Society’s records do not point to any long-term consequences to Cerroni’s visit, and the former superior of the Imperial mission field in Italy seems to have offended many of his fellow Jesuits in the course of his travels.²⁶ This was a period of confusion and instability in the entire region, and would end in the reconquest of Northern Serbia by the Turks. Even after another war in the 1780s, the Austrians would never again control Belgrade, and the Jesuits would not regain a foothold south of the Drava.

The Belgrade mission, while not nearly as successful as the Society’s undertakings in Ruthenia, Transylvania, and Hungary, was important to the Province both because of the contacts that it maintained with a variety of ethnic and confessional groups, and because of its relationship to the Austrian garrisons that were present during much of time.²⁷ The mission also placed Jesuits on an unmistakable frontier directly confronting an enemy of Catholic and European civilization. The value to the Society here was as much in the reappearance of the direct encounter with the challenging Other as it was in the actual numbers of converted or of students enrolled in schools. It may have been no accident that among the small band of Jesuits who worked in Belgrade after 1717 was Balthazar Miller, a native of Friuli who had spent years in China as a missionary.²⁸ Or perhaps the Austrian Province was merely shorthanded and turning to men from a variety of backgrounds to cover yet another important extension of the responsibilities of the Province.²⁹ The Austrians and the Jesuits were in Serbia long enough to see the birth of a future Jesuit, Ignatius Kapuvári

Catholic missionaries made inroads among the Bulgarians living in Oltenia, a region ruled by the Ottomans until the early eighteenth century. Bur, “A katolikus bolgárok,” 940.

²⁶ Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe*, 247.

²⁷ At one point, the Jesuit residence had to be relocated because of the expansion of the nearby Imperial barracks. *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1729*, B. V. P. 12.123, fol. 106v, ÖNB.

²⁸ Vanino, “Isusovci u Beogradu,” 43.

²⁹ One member of the Belgrade Jesuit community, Kristian Bonnin, was a native of Copenhagen. Vanino, “Isusovci u Beogradu,” 37.

(1728–c.1786), in Belgrade.³⁰ But the potential of the Belgrade mission to inspire by example and by adding to the institutional narrative of the Society was limited by the failure of the Habsburgs to hold Belgrade long enough to assure the survival of the Society's projects. The return of the Ottomans after 1739 did not allow for the sort of semi-clandestine Jesuit activities of the previous century. The Belgrade mission, in its final years, represents one facet of the maximum extension of the Society's Austrian Province, a project that lasted over a century. While the Jesuit presence in Belgrade never approached that in Transylvania or even Moldavia, the intermittent presence of the Jesuits is a testimony both to the fortitude of the Austrian Province Jesuits and, on the other hand, of their rigidity and limited capacity to adapt to special circumstances.

³⁰ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 920.

XI

Trnava

*Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum*¹

Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau, Tyrnavia) was the most important community of the Society in Hungary although its roles shifted in focus and importance over time. At various points Trnava functioned as a major training center of Jesuits, secular clergy and laymen, close to the Ottoman frontier, and later, as a staging point safely far from any actual periphery but still in constant communication with Jesuits and others destined for labors along that periphery. The town was where the Society committed itself to its most ambitious building projects in the non-German speaking Austrian Province and was a point of both departure and return for many Jesuits working anywhere within the eastern two thirds of the Austrian Province. It was also a center for education through which Jesuits from other sections of the Province and even beyond it, passed through on various teaching assignments. As we have seen, after a false start that lasted only six years and involved several relocations,² the Jesuits settled into Trnava permanently in 1615. This moment was the beginning of the first great campaign under the leadership of Cardinal Peter Pázmány (1570–1637) to reclaim Hungary for Catholicism and to organize and rationalize the

¹ “Wisdom has built for herself a house” (Proverbs 9:1), a motto appearing over an engraving of the eighteenth-century town and university.

² Šimončič, “Prví Jezuiti na Slovensku: 450 rokov od príchodu jezuitov do Trnavy.” http://www.jezuiti.sk/index.php?stranka=ktosme_aktuality&tab=aktuality&idc=1276&hp=ok

Society's presence in the fragmented kingdom. From the start the Jesuit project was confronted with serious threats. Gabriel Bethlen's troops threatened both the town and school shortly after the founding of the latter.³ Yet the school they established grew very rapidly, following the usual pattern of Jesuit academies during the first century of the Society, and could boast 700 students by 1618. Seventeen years later the cardinal, a former Jesuit, though his endowments helped the school gain the rank of university.⁴ The Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest today claims uninterrupted descent as a Hungarian institution from the beginnings.

Trnava also became the place where data about the Society's activities over a much wider area were compiled.⁵ The growth and success of the cluster of schools and facilities operated by the Jesuits in Trnava fit into the larger narrative of the Society during its first century. As a place where hundreds of Jesuits were trained and hundreds of other future clergy were trained by Jesuits, this middling sized town was epitomized as a model of Jesuit enterprise in the written history of the Society: echoing the language in the *Imago* that had described the Society's progress in human terms, Stephanus Csete (1648–1718) wrote two quasi-historical works about Trnava: *Tyrnavia nascens* (1706) and *Tyrnavia crescens* (1707).⁶ Chosen in part because of its proximity to Vienna, Jesuit-dominated Trnava was for more than century a place on the edge of Catholic Europe from which one might peer into the more exotic haunts of Muslim, Unitarian, and heretic while still being tied to the extensive network of Jesuit schools that stretched westward across the continent and far beyond. Jesuits continually passed through or lighted in the town in the course of their apostolic work. When Gaspar Gorian, a "Croata," returned from seven years' service in the Belgrade mission in 1642 and died in Trnava, the town was only a short distance from Turkish outposts.⁷ Much

³ Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 51; 273.

⁴ Fraknói, *Pázmány Péter, 1570–1637*, 183–186; 279.

⁵ A manuscript of the history of the Society in Hungary, Austria, Transylvania, Croatia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was composed in Trnava in about 1634. Ms. II/2 Hev. Tomus XXVI, fols. 1–96, ELTEK.

⁶ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, ii, 1721.

⁷ Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 603; Molnár, *Saint-Siège*, 234.

later Franciscus Xavier Pejacsevich (1707–1781), a scion of a distinguished Bulgarian family that relocated in Slavonia, received training in Trnava and become a Jesuit.⁸ Andreas Helesféni was born in Trnava in 1612, and presumably trained there, and then was sent to Mănăştur in Transylvania, to become the rector of the community, but returned to Trnava the next year.⁹ Vitus Vitelli, a native of Fiume who could preach in both Italian and Croatian, was a student at the *collegium* at roughly the same time.¹⁰ Franciscus Dempster (1605–1667), born in Edinburgh, turns up in Trnava twice as a teacher and administrator, and the records of the community during the first half of the seventeenth century reveal two young priests who had studied in Naples.¹¹ But the most significant connection between Italy and a Jesuit member of the Trnava community was achieved by Baron Ladislaus Sennyey (1632–1702), who made three trips through Italy between 1687 and 1697. Sennyey, who also served as rector in Trnava, noted in his diary how expensive it was for Hungarians to undertake such a journey and was one of the very few seventeenth century Catholic nobles of the kingdom to do so.¹² Few eighteenth-century Hungarian Jesuits had either the opportunity or the apparent desire to follow in Sennyey's footsteps.

Joannes Ordodi (1632–1681) noted earlier as a writer of Hungarian devotions, set forth from Trnava for Mukacheve and the court of the Rákóczis towards the end of his career.¹³ Even Melchior Inchoffer, who does not seem ever to have spent any additional time in Hungary,

⁸ Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, 104–105; Lukács, *Catalogus Generalis*, ii, 1177.

⁹ Benda, ed., *Moldvai Csángo-Magyar Okmánytár*, ii, 479. Helesféni's obituary notes that he rescued others "a periculo," a variation on the trope of individual escape from danger. *Elogia Defunctorum XII*, Ms. I, Ab 148, fol. 7, ELTEK.

¹⁰ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1673, Austria 143*, fols. 11v–12r, ARSI.

¹¹ Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 571. Georgius Eperjesi (1599–1631), who had studied philosophy in Naples, died in Trnava. Franciscus Paczoth (1598–1649) had also studied philosophy in Naples and was *praefectus* of the *seminarium* in Trnava in 1644. Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 582; 696.

¹² Veress, ed., *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum*, 290; Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 326.

¹³ Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 33; *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms. I, Ab 139, fols. 94–95, ELTEK.

may have completed some of his “higher studies” in Trnava before returning to Italy.¹⁴ One additional example of a Jesuit who was part of the seventeenth-century community in Trnava will illustrate the connection between the scholarly community and the unpredictable and risk-filled life just beyond its borders. Matthias Ostarics (1648–1684) was born in Malacky, two days’ journey west of Trnava, where he was received into the Society. Working in the Sopron region he found himself “a rebellibus undique circumdatus, et imminentibus Tartaris Turcisque” (surrounded on all sides by rebels, and with Turks and Tatars menacing). Tipped off by the local “rusticis” as to his probable capture, he reluctantly gave up his post and traveled night and day until he reached Styria.¹⁵ Ostarics’s death appears to have followed closely upon these events, and there is no record of him returning to Hungary.

While Trnava was occasionally exposed to the warfare and turmoil that gripped towns further east, in 1683, 200 of Thököly’s troops occupied the *Albertinum*, a school for poor youths that later became the training site for Uniate clergy, a reminder of just how vulnerable the Jesuit community was.¹⁶ The following year Imperial troops battling the Turks also did significant damage as they passed through the town.¹⁷ Later during the Rákóczi rebellion the town was again imperiled and kuruc armies threatened to destroy the entire community, while Jesuits from further east evacuated to Trnava where they performed whatever tasks needed to be done.¹⁸ When the rebel troops occupied the town

¹⁴ Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 28. However, Lukács finds no evidence of Inchoffer’s training in Trnava. Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 627.

¹⁵ Weiser, *Vitae Patrum*, 12–13.

¹⁶ The *Adalbertinum* remained one of the principle links between the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches until the Suppression. The *Barbareum*, a school for the training of Uniate clergy in Vienna, did not come into existence until 1774. Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története*, ii, 184.

¹⁷ “Collegium tyrnaviense non modicum damnu’ illatum est à milite caesareno pergente ad obsidionem Budensem et ab eodam revertente tum subsidiariorum rebus, tum nostrorum violatis...” *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1684, Austria 145*, fol. 57r, ARSI.

¹⁸ Rákóczi was defeated on 26 December 1704 not far from Trnava by a Habsburg army led by Count Siegbert Heister. Hengelmüller, *Hungary’s Fight for National Existence*, 230. Andreas Murin was unable to teach at the Košice university as planned but instead taught young boys in Trnava. Antal Molnár, “Murin András jezsuita szerzetes,” 110. Other traditions

Gregorius Hidi heard the confessions of dying soldiers in the make-shift hospital set up and died a *victima charitatis* as a result.¹⁹ The fathers were compelled to negotiate with Nicolaus Bercsényi, a general in the kuruc army, in order to retain some cattle and grain that had belonged to the community.²⁰ After the defeat of Rákóczi's army some of his troops sought asylum within the walls of the Jesuit *gymnasium*, *collegium*, and church, placing further strains on the community's resources.²¹

Strained town and gown relations also had an impact on the Jesuits' schools of Trnava. One of these incidents even found its way into the multi-volume history of Hungary composed by Franciscus Kazy. In 1643, citizens seized certain "academicos" who were wandering about at night and transported them to the town jail.²² While tensions with surrounding populations, a constant theme in Jesuit narratives, were often driven by confessional hostilities, in this instance, roistering youths were probably merely a nuisance to citizens. The reference to incarceration in the civic jail is a reminder of the problems encountered when collegiate and civic authorities came into conflict.²³ Students in Trnava occasionally engaged in duels that could turn deadly, thereby creating another point of conflict between town and gown. In these respects the Trnava university resembled its peers throughout Central Europe and especially those in the Empire.

Trnava suffered the same misfortunes as other early modern towns, and then some. The Jesuits' first establishment in the commu-

survived, however, regarding the Jesuit response to the revolt. A late nineteenth-century Hungarian historian claims, without documentation, that "even the pious Jesuit fathers" helped their students organize a military unit in support of Rákóczi. Horváth, *A régi magyar irodalom története*, 631–632. The complex relationship between Rákóczi and Hungarian Jesuits has yet to be adequately explored.

¹⁹ Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 30.

²⁰ This was the same Bercsényi in whose home the miraculous flame described in Chapter One a few years would appear. Undated document, catalogued as 1705, Ms. III, Kap. A, Tomus XLII, fol. 267, ELTEK.

²¹ Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 170.

²² Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, ii, 64.

²³ A compact between the *Academia* and the town produced shortly thereafter clarified that those students charged with capital crimes were to be transported to the "carceres Academici." Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, ii, 73.

nity, along with 150 houses, was burned in 1547.²⁴ A particularly bad fire in 1666 claimed hundreds of lives.²⁵ Seventeen years later the city was burned yet again by Thököly troops, leaving, in Samuel Timon's words, "everything in ashes."²⁶ Given such losses it is not surprising that six more fires that devastated the town in 1688 were regarded with suspicion by the Jesuits.²⁷ And like virtually every other community in Hungary, Trnava was ravaged by the plague, a calamity that required the closing of the Jesuit school at least three times,²⁸ and which claimed the lives of many Jesuits.²⁹ The chaos occasioned by George I Rákóczi's military activities in the region during 1647 and 1648 severely disrupted the functioning of the university during the rectorate of Stephanus Keresztes,³⁰ and the long-distance effects of the kuruc rebellion a generation later reached the city, causing shortages and famine and disrupting instruction. The proximity of the Ottoman frontier, which in 1683 was no more than 10 miles off, affected the ability of the town to engage in trade with its natural hinterlands and restricted communications. At the same time the nearness of Bratislava, the *de facto* administrative capital of Royal Hungary while Buda was under Ottoman control, further hampered the more rapid expansion of Trnava beyond those gains that were tied to the temporary location of the primatial see in the town. Yet a consequence of these restricting influences was that the Society came to dominate Trnava all the more. More than any other community in Hungary, Trnava by the close of the seventeenth century was a "Jesuit city," with as many as 1,000 of its

²⁴ Timon, *Epitome Chronologica*, 208.

²⁵ An extraordinarily high figure of 4,000 killed is claimed. Šimončič, "Požiar Trnavy."

²⁶ Timon, *Epitome Chronologica*, 264.

²⁷ Szentiványi, *Curiosiora*, decade 2, part 1, 145.

²⁸ Classes were suspended in 1679 and 1710. Pauler, *A Budapesti Magyar Kir. Tudományegyetem története*, 536. Earlier, in 1645, plague and menacing armies had forced the closure of the university. Tolvay, *Ortus et Progressus*, 152.

²⁹ Petrus Agoston died caring for plague victims in 1689, during the period of severe upheaval following the Ottoman retreat. Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, i, 88. Rosty, "Pótló adatok," 231.

³⁰ *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, p. 364, ELTEK; Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 285.

7,000 inhabitants enrolled as students in one of the Society's schools and a physical plant large enough to need a brother assigned to the unusual job of *visitator luminum*.³¹

The goals of the Jesuit community in Trnava were broadly conceived in comparison with those of other Jesuit communities further to the east. This breadth of vision originated in part from the view taken of sixteenth-century Hungary by the first Jesuits who ventured there. Juan De Vitoria, the rector of the Vienna *collegium* and probably the first Jesuit to set foot in Hungary, wrote to Diego Laínez, the *praepositus generalis*, in 1599, that from many points of view, sending men into Hungary was the equivalent to sending them on a mission to the Indies.³² Cardinal Pázmány likewise conceived of the reestablishment of Catholicism in this contested region as a project of immense importance. His initial endowment was followed by other sizable gifts that allowed the Jesuit schools to grow.³³ This development was not accidental, but a reflection of the Society's rational plans to distribute resources and manpower, and also to select centers of activity located at cultural and commercial crossroads.³⁴ While Trnava was not the ideal crossroads that the Society always sought as a location for its projects, it was the appropriate place through which to direct persons and ideas headed from east to west, or west to east, and to a lesser extent, from north to south.

Trnava was the home of a major Jesuit printing operation producing not only theological works and school texts but a surprisingly diverse array of other materials, the range and implication of which on

³¹ Georgius Simoni (1644–1714) performed this task for four years. *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Kap A., Tomus V, fol. 253, ELTEK. The manufacture and maintenance of candles was an important concern of Jesuit communities. Christophorus Swodboda, listed as a “novitius scholasticus,” was a “ceroplasta” (candle maker) in Trenčín in 1737. Lukács, *Catalogi VII*, 211.

³² Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège*, 135. Vitoria visited Trnava as early as 1561 to attend a church council. Szilas, A Jézus Társasága Magyarországon. <http://regi.jezsuita.hu/adattar/Magyarorszagitortenet.htm>

³³ The Fundatio Janiano-Leopoldina was confirmed by “Solemnes tabulae” in 1704. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 29–32.

³⁴ This policy of locating where “greater fruit” would be harvested by the Society's activities was mapped out in the founding documents of the Society. Lucas, “Peter Canisius: Jesuit Urban Strategist,” 294.

the literate culture of the region have yet to be fully explored.³⁵ Among these were a rare example of a seventeenth-century school drama whose author is known, a guide for confessors which included passages on how to respond to women accused of witchcraft who entered the confessional, and an easy-to-follow visual aid for determining whether marriages among relatives were licit or not.³⁶ Much more remarkable was an undated tract which on the basis of typeface László Szörényi believes to have been printed by the Trnava Press: *Reflexiones in Causa Sinesi factae in Europa, postquam ad illam pervenit Decretum Emin: Tournon. Datum Nankini in Sinis 25. Januarii 1707. Italicè, et Latine impressae 1709, recusae 1710*.³⁷ Appearing in the wake of the Chinese rites controversy that rocked the Society, this publication is described by Szörényi as a “comic dialogue” between a mandarin arrived in Rome and a defender of Christianity, its anonymous author displaying both an awareness of the most recent setback for the Society and a willingness to view the problem in a humorous way. If Szörényi is correct, the use of the Jesuit press to produce a work that took such an irreverent view of one of the most serious crises to face the pre-Suppression Society suggests much more flexibility (or neglect or indifference?) on the part of the Jesuit supervisor of the press than had been previously supposed. The book’s lack of complete bibliographic data seems to point to multiple users of the press with varying degrees of legitimate access. The production of this tract in Latin likewise raises questions about its intended audience: Jesuits? Students in Jesuit schools? Beneath a veneer of orthodox rigidity the Trnava Jesuit community may have included more daring or non-conformist members whose activities have yet to be understood fully.

The activities of the university press engaged the larger world in a more conventional way as well. In 1715 it produced *Ratio status*

³⁵ From 1640 until 1777 the press established by the Jesuits in Trnava produced 3,000 titles. Spáčil, “Universitas Tyrnavensis,” 275.

³⁶ Székely, “Triumphus Innocentiae, seu Abagarus, rex Osroenorum post plurimos adversae Sortis lusus...” Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 35; Herzig, *Manuale confessorii seu methodus compendiosa munus confessorii rite obeundi...* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis, 1744). Herzig (1674–1732) was a Moravian Jesuit professor and polemicist. Hurter, *Nomenclator...* 4, *Aetas recens...* Pars secunda, iv, 972; Szörényi, *Philologica Hungarolatina*, 149; 236.

³⁷ Szörényi, *Studia Hungarolatina*, 73.

animae, a work of emblematics written by Franciscus Partinger (1675–1727), an Austrian Jesuit who had spent years working in Transylvania.³⁸ By the time the book appeared the best days of Jesuit emblematics were over. Yet the publication of a work by a Jesuit with strong ties to Vienna and a demonstrated proficiency in one of the most important modes of communication of the Baroque Society, and who also had labored long on the periphery demonstrated once again the degree to which Trnava was a crossroads and point of cultural intersection for the Society. Responding to the concerns of early modern Hungary in quite a different fashion, the Trnava press published an edition of the influential *Praxis criminalis* of Benedict Carpzov (1595–1666), whose sixtieth chapter describes how to interrogate a witch.³⁹

The seventeenth-century university town retained an orientation towards the east, which was reflected in both the missions that set out from Trnava and the thrust of much of its early publishing undertakings. A Romanian translation of the greater catechism of Canisius appeared as early as 1696, having been prepared by Franciscus Szunyogh.⁴⁰ The first book published especially for Romanian Uniate clergy was also printed in Trnava, a catechism translated into “Valach” from the Hungarian of the indefatigable Father Baranyi (who at one point directed the *Albertinum*), and the press also produced a unique collaborative effort of a Lutheran, a Uniate Basilite, and a Jesuit.⁴¹ The connection between Romanian speakers and the press reached back further: In 1662–63, Gabriel Ivul, among other responsibilities, had been *Praefectus typographiae*.⁴² The production of a catechism in Rusyn in Trnava was a landmark for the written literature of this language, since previously the Uniate clergy had used as their liturgical texts the books of the Russian Orthodox

³⁸ Knapp and Tüskés, “The emblem in Hungary,” 234; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 253.

³⁹ *Forma processus iudicii criminalis seu Praxis criminalis...* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis per Joannem Andream Hörmann, 1687); Sz. Kristóf, “How to make a (legal) pact with the devil?” 164.

⁴⁰ *Catechismus Valachicus maior Romano-Catholicus* (Tyrnaviae, 1696). RMK II, 1864; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 359.

⁴¹ Deletant, “Rumanian Presses and Printing,” 495. See also Bor, “Elfeledett nagyszombati cirill betűs nyomtatványok.”

⁴² Lukás, *Catalogi*, II, 627.

Church.⁴³ Although the author of the catechism is identified on the title pages as Uniate bishop Joannes Joseph de Camelis, since he did not speak Ruthenian (Rusyn) we may suppose that the actual author was a Jesuit either working solo or in collaboration with a Ruthenian Uniate priest.⁴⁴ The Alvares trilingual grammar, which we met in Chapter Two and which originally appeared in print as early as 1648, may have been created by one of the professors at the Trnava university.⁴⁵ At the same time the Jesuits operated the *Seminarium Rubrorum*, where secular priests were trained, and thereby had a direct impact on the surrounding culture that increased over time.⁴⁶

Since this collection of Jesuit schools included a seminary, the *Seminarium Sancti Adalberti* or *Adalbertinum*, specifically committed to the training of clergy working with Greek-Catholic or Uniate populations (who included a number of future Ruthenian Uniate bishops), some of the attention and energy of the community was inevitably drawn many hundreds of kilometers to the east.⁴⁷ Other Rusyn

⁴³ Kosáry, *Culture and Society*, 78; Lehoczky, “Kolonich-Alapítvány,” 445.

⁴⁴ *Katekhis dli`a` naouky Ougroruskym li`u`dem zlozhennii / ot prevelebnii`e`shi gospodina Iōanna Iosifa Dekamelis...* (V Ternave: Tipom Akadem. ōd`mene An`drei`a` Goermanna, Roku Bozhogo 1698). A copy of this volume is in the Houghton Rare Book collection of Harvard University, Hollis 002214659. Although the Society is not explicitly named, the title page features a naively executed woodcut including the monogram of Christ and the three nails of his Passion, the customary identifying symbols of the Society. The press “pro typo Russo sive Muscovito [cyrillic]” operated by the Society after 1710 is probably identical with the one that produced the Rusyn catechism. Hodinka, ed., *A munkácsi görög szertartású püspökség*, 413. Magocsi maintains that the Cyrillic type fonts were provided to the Trnava Jesuits as early as 1680 by Leopold Cardinal Kollonich and that these same fonts were transferred to Cluj in the eighteenth century. Magocsi, “Printing and Publishing,” in Magocsi and Pop, eds., *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, 399.

⁴⁵ Vásárhelyi, “Nyomtatott magyar fordításaink,” 67.

⁴⁶ Endowed by Georgius Lippay, the Primate of Hungary in 1649, the *Seminarium* stood next to the *Collegium Marianum*, another Jesuit-run school founded by Lippay’s successor Szelepcsényi in 1678. Simor, ed., *Pamätná kniha spolku Sv. Adalberta (Vojtecha)*, 139; Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, iii, 228.

⁴⁷ The *Adalbertinum* admitted three students from the Uniate Seminary in Mukacheve annually. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 854. Georgius Gabriel Blazsovsky,

Uniate students are reported to have enrolled in Trnava, but perhaps in the university rather than in the *Albertinum*.⁴⁸ Romanian speaking Uniate students also are appearing on the rolls of this seminary by the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ However this support for the Uniate project was a Jesuit endeavor not always welcomed by a Catholic hierarchy that could be hostile to the Society and saw its power base in Trnava as a potential rival. When Josif Hodermanskiy, a Ruthenian absolvent of the Jesuit seminary in Trnava, was consecrated “Bishop of the Ruthenians”, he remained unrecognized by the local Catholic ordinary, the bishop of Eger.⁵⁰ The balance of forces in play in the Habsburg East could create tensions in Trnava. While Rome valued the promotion of union and Vienna saw a Uniate Church as a useful counterbalance to strong non-Catholic populations in the east, the local Catholic bishops, conscious of the increasing power of a Society that oversaw the Uniate project, later, when the Society grew weaker, did not hesitate to reduce its influence there. And as was the case in Transylvania, the Uniate products of Jesuit training sometimes turned out to be liabilities: The schismatic Rusyn priest Mykhailo Andreas (Andrello) Orosvigovsky or Orosvyhiv (1637–1710) had been trained in Trnava.⁵¹

bishop of Mukacheve from 1738 until 1742, studied philosophy in Košice and like many other Uniate clergy, speculative theology in Trnava. Basilovits, *Brevis notitia*, 186. According to Magocsi, Uniate bishop Iurii (Georgius) Gennadius Bizantius (1656–1733) was educated in Trnava. However, Bizantius’s name does not appear in the surviving records of the *Adalbertinum*. Magocsi, “Trnava Adalbertine College”, in Magocsi and Pop, eds., *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, 466; *Matricula Universitatis Tyrnaviensis 1635–1701*. A later Uniate prelate, Simeon [István] Olsavszky was educated at Jesuit schools in Trnava, receiving support from the Janiana Foundation and completing his studies with high honors in 1719. Duliskovich, ed., *Istoricheskiya Cherti Ugro-Russkych*, iii, 103. The most important Ruthenian Uniate bishop, Andreas Bacsinszky (1732–1809), completed his theological studies at Trnava. Shore, “Life and Death,” 233.

⁴⁸ Godinka [=Hodinka], *Naše Kleriki ve Tirnave ot 1722 do 1760 r.*, 4

⁴⁹ Two “Oláh” or Romanian students were studying at the *Adalbertinum* in 1738. Herman, *A hitudományi kar története*, 91. See also Ioan Chiorean, “Le rôle des institutions d’enseignement supérieur,” 305.

⁵⁰ Timkovič, *Dejiny Gréckokatolíkov Podkarpatska*, 657.

⁵¹ Rusinko, “Between Russia and Hungary,” 424. Orosvigovsky belied the cliché of the Uniate cleric educated in provincial settings and a willing tool of

During the first half of the seventeenth century the distance between Trnava and Jesuit missions operating in locations far to the south and east such as Timișoara was so great and so difficult to traverse that the Jesuit community of Trnava cannot be said to have had much of a direct influence on these missions.⁵² By the eighteenth century this had changed, and the influence of the Trnava University even reached beyond the nominal confines of the Austrian Province. Franciscus Miroslavics, in between his earliest years in Belgrade and his later assignments in Košice and Győr, received training in Trnava.⁵³ The cluster of Jesuit schools even had an impact on other religious orders: Ambrus Bogdanovics, who was the rector of a Franciscan community in Vinga, Bulgaria, was educated in Trnava, as was Alexander a Sancte Ioanne de Cruce, who served as Visitor General of the Discalced Carmelites throughout western Europe.⁵⁴

Trnava was also where books were printed that came to be regarded as important contributions to Hungarian culture, such as Paulus Pereszslényi's *Grammaticae Hungarica Linguae Institutiones* (1682). Pereszslényi's grammar was an adaptation to Hungarian of the Jesuit Latin grammar by Emmanuel Alvarez.⁵⁵ In addition to books produced by the Society's presses, books of many types were also collected by the Jesuits. By the time the Turks had begun their withdrawal from the neighborhood, the university library already held about 5,000 volumes, a sizeable number by any contemporary measure, but one of especial significance given the depredations experienced during Ottoman occupation.⁵⁶ In a very different vein from the vast majority of works

the Jesuits. His travels included a visit to Berlin and he eventually attacked the Society and its Uniate partners. Lacko, "Union," 163–164.

⁵² Molnár, *Saint-siège*, 302.

⁵³ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust.* 1729, B. P. V. 12.123, fol. 128, ÖNB.

⁵⁴ Miklós, "Stanislavich Miklós csanádi püspök," 120; Fejér, *Historia Academiae*, 79.

⁵⁵ Trócsányi, "A XVIII. század magyar nyomtatványainak meghatározása," 230. Pereszslényi (1631–1689) taught Hebrew in Trnava, one of the very few Hungarian Jesuits besides Martinus Szentiványi to specialize in this language. Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 261; Serfőző, "Szentiványi Marton munkássága," 12–13.

⁵⁶ Farkas et al., *Magyarországi jezsuita könyvtárak 1711-ig 2. Nagyszombat 1632–1690*. This number had increased to about 17,000 by the time of the Suppression.

produced and collected in Trnava was *Metallurgicon, sive de cultura fodinarum auri et argenti* (Tynaviae: Typis Academicis Soc. Jesu, 1748), a poem detailing the mining of gold and silver, composed by Josephus Bartakovics (1722–1763), a teacher of canon law and rhetoric (in both Hungarian and Slovak) who hailed from around Nitra and who taught in several locations along the mountainous region of Hungary.⁵⁷ An anonymous play, also published in Trnava, is attributed to him, as well as many other dramas surviving in manuscript. Bartakovics was evidently no expert on mining, and this exercise was in all probability intended more as a demonstration of poetic skill in assembling terminology in Latin, Hungarian, and German related (perhaps sometimes tangentially) to this industry. As such the poem illustrates both the forward-looking aspects of Jesuit literary life in Hungary through its employment of parallel vernaculars, but also how archaic aesthetic models and literary techniques were still being employed. The second half of the eighteenth century would see few technical treatises presented as Latin poems.

A faculty of law was added to the university in 1667, which later employed non-Jesuits as teachers, and although its focus was first on Roman and canon law, in 1672 its curriculum was expanded to include Hungarian civil law, with stress upon its medieval roots, which not coincidentally might be employed to strengthen the claims of the Habsburgs.⁵⁸ Among the scholars studying both civil and canon law in Trnava was Carolus Schretter (1644–1718) in the course of a strenuous career that saw him teaching *physicae* at one point and that took him to Košice, Levoča, and Banská Bystrica, where he was captured by Thököly's troops, and then to Trnava, from whence he was banished by Francis II Rákóczi.⁵⁹ The relation of instruction in civil law to

⁵⁷ Katona, *Historia Critica*... 39, 937.

⁵⁸ Fallenbüchl, "Ungarische Staatswissenschaft," 214–215. The *Tripartitum* of Stephanus Werböczy was reprinted in Trnava and taught in its lecture halls. Horváth, *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem*. Wolfgangus Bossányi (1669–1740), a professor of theology and philosophy, produced a work on Werböczy: *Tripartitum juris philosophici* (Tynaviae: Typis Academicis, 1706). *RMK II*, 2259.

⁵⁹ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 323–324; Pauler, "A nagyszombati egyetem," 27–28. Schretter's principle legal work was *Concordia Canonica juris ecclesiastici civilis et Hungarici. De Testamentis, & Immunitate Ecclesiastica Desumpta Ex Lib.*

the Society's educational and pastoral missions was never clearly defined; neither prescribed nor proscribed in the *Constitutions* or *Ratio*, the development of a civil law curriculum was a response to the fragmentation and dispersion of instruction in the law during the previous two centuries and was never directly under the supervision of the Jesuits.⁶⁰

Natural science found a home in Trnava too. A pharmacy had already been established by the 1640s and in 1653 had Belgian Jesuit Joannes Misch as its *praefectus*.⁶¹ By the mid 1700s scientific publications were appearing from the Jesuit press, which, while they did not rival those found in the *Journal de Trévoux* in terms of originality or rigor, nevertheless stood alone in the literary world of Hungary as evidence of an institution with high academic ambitions. These ambitions however were circumscribed by a desire to avoid scientific approaches that might seem to promote controversy or atheism, although a cautious incorporation of Cartesian physics was possible in works on cosmology.⁶² K. A. F. Fischer has demonstrated the degree of tension existing among Jesuit scientists in Trnava during these decades, when both heliocentric cosmology and Newtonian physics exerted a strong appeal to priests who were nevertheless bound by *oboedientia*.⁶³ The

III. Decretalium.... (Tyrnavia: Typis Academicis, per Joannem Andream Hörmann, [1698]). Among other teachers seized in 1683 by the rebels was Gasparus Szarka, teacher of canon law. Herman and Artner, *A hittudományi kar*, 17.

⁶⁰ Szögi, "A nagyszombati egyetem jogi karának Budára költözése," www.ajk.elte.hu/file/01_SzogiLaszlo-NagyszombatiEgyetem.pdf

⁶¹ *Coadjutor temporalis* Abraham Jung (1606–1661) served as "apothecarius" before 1648 and again in 1654, later being sent to Vienna to perform this duty. Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 632. Kiss, "Johann Misch Astrophilus Nagyszombatban," <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00021/00045/Ksz2005-2-02.htm>

⁶² Zemlén, "The Reception of Copernicanism in Hungary," 350–351. Jung, "excultus logicis" (thoroughly trained in logic) "ut Magistrii Laurea inter physicos dignus videretur" (so that he was considered worthy to be ranked among those granted a Master's degree in physics.). *Lit. An. Prov. Aust. 1661, Austria 142*, fol. 103v, ARSI. Andreas Jaszlinszky, *Institutiones Physicae Generalis et Particularis*, 2 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu, 1756), endeavored to sidestep the question of whether or not to incorporate Newtonian mathematics (462).

⁶³ Fischer, "Brief Communication." Fischer provides important links between Jesuit scientists in Vienna and those in Trnava.

quick abandonment of outmoded scientific models by former Jesuits after the Suppression suggests how fragile the theoretical basis of Jesuit science (and by implication much of the rest of the intellectual foundation of the Society's program) had become, making the late flowering of intellectual activity in Jesuit Trnava more of a swan song than a hint of what might have been.

The most improbable addition to this community of scholars was Franciscus Otrókocsi Fóris, not a Jesuit but a product of Jesuit conversion efforts. Born a Calvinist in 1648 in the foothills of Upper Hungary, Otrókocsi was unusually well traveled even in a day when Protestant divines went far afield to receive their training. After visiting Oxford and Germany and preaching as a Reformed pastor, he became a Catholic (converted by Nicholas Kellio, according to some accounts, by Lucas Kolich, according to others).⁶⁴ Otrókocsi Fóris was given a teaching position as professor of civil law at Trnava and a pension from the emperor. Ultimately his assignment included organizing the primatial archives in Esztergom and supervising the copying of documents there.⁶⁵ Despite the occasional rarity such as Otrókocsi Fóris the link between Trnava and efforts to convert Protestants was never as strong as the connection to Jesuit efforts made to entice Greek Catholics or Roman Catholic diocesan clergy, a somewhat curious fact considering the Society's emphasis placed on securing Catholicism in the towns to the east.

Not only was Otrókocsi Fóris, a onetime professor of law at the Calvinist University of Utrecht, the most spectacular fruit of the Society's conversion efforts among Calvinists perhaps anywhere in the world, but his literary output shows a unique merging of Calvinist and Catholic perspectives. Otrókocsi Fóris's narrative of Hungarian history has been described as "multi-layered."⁶⁶ While still a Calvinist he identified the faithful Hungarian elect as "Israel" facing an external oppressor. His employment of the metaphor of restored Israel persisted

⁶⁴ Galla, "Otrókocsi Fóris Ferenc Gályarab Rómában," 185.

⁶⁵ Hóman, *Történetírás*, 394.

⁶⁶ Trencsényi, "Patriotism and elect nationhood in early modern Hungarian political discourse," in *Whose Love of What Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, eds. Trencsényi and Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 499–544; here 532.

after his encounter with the Jesuits: in 1712 Otrókoci Főris's *Restitutio Israel* was published in Vienna.⁶⁷ As a convert to Catholicism, Otrókoci Főris embraced not only the theology but also the symbolism of the Tridentine Church, eventually seeing Rome as the "holy city."⁶⁸ Our understanding of how Otrókoci Főris's preoccupation with Biblical exegesis may have changed after his conversion is hampered by the loss of at least one of his important works, *Theologica Prophetica, seu clavis prophetiarum et typorum Sanctae Scripturae* (Tyrnaviae, 1705).⁶⁹ Although writing at least half a century before the investigation of the "origins" of the Magyars may be said to have cast off its confessional tone, Otrókoci Főris demonstrated that it was possible to shift theological positions in an intensely polemical climate and still address the urgent need to place the Hungarians in historical context. Otrókoci Főris's life story was a rarity, but his passion for the question of origins that seemed to trump confessional disputes may not have been in Leopoldine Hungary. The famous convert was not trained as a historian; yet by making use of medieval historians such as Luitprand, Otrókoci Főris challenged assumptions about the *Chronica Hungarorum*.⁷⁰ His errors regarding the ultimate origins of the Magyars must be seen in the context of the limited understanding of Semitic linguistics of the day and the almost complete ignorance regarding the relation of Magyar tongue to any of the language groups of Asia.⁷¹

The ferocity with which Otrókoci Főris took up the Catholic position may seem to call for some explanation: perhaps on his first trip to England in 1676 he had more contact with high church Anglicanism

⁶⁷ Knapp, "Ismeretlen források Otrókoci Főris Ferenc katolizálásának kérdéséhez" [Unknown sources on Francis Otrókoci Főris's conversion to Catholicism], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 122 (2006): 201–217; here 207; *RMK II*, 1939.

⁶⁸ Szilágyi, "Kecskeméti ref. anyakönyvi följegyzések," *Sárospataki Füzetek* 1 (1857–1858): 652–659; here 658.

⁶⁹ *RMK II*, 2234.

⁷⁰ Szabados, "A Krónikáktól a Gestaig: Az előidő szemlélet hangsúlyváltásai a 15–18. században," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102, nos. 5–6 (1998): 615–641; here 626.

⁷¹ Otrókoci is still counted, with some justification, as the "founder of Hungarian-Semitic studies." Tóth, *Hungarian and Eskimo-Aleut with Paleo-Siberian Cognates* (The Hague: Mikes International, 2007), 1.

or even quietly Catholic members of the aristocracy than has been assumed.⁷² Then, too, the question of how the Hungarian “Israel” would be delivered and by whom may have brought Otrokocsi Fóris to the conclusion that the brand of Catholicism promoted by the Society was the best or at least the most plausible way forward.

No account of the Trnava Jesuits would be complete without mention of Martinus Szentiványi’s tenure. Szentiványi’s scientific and polemical works and his contributions to chronology, already obsolescent at the time of their composition, did not make as much of a long-term impact as did the writings of Timon, Katona, or Otrokocsi Fóris, but in his own lifetime Szentiványi was the most influential of Jesuits publishing in Trnava. Földvári even cited an otherwise undocumented “Chronicum” of Szentiványi when seeking to establish a date for the legendary Magyar chieftain Álmos.⁷³ But both scholarly specialization and a retreat from militant confessionalism drew eighteenth-century Hungarian Jesuits away from the methodology and motivations of this once widely-read polymath.

The scholarly climate of the eighteenth-century university reflected both continuity with its immediate past and signs of expansion into new directions. Nicolaus Schmitth (1707–1767) who was both chancellor and rector in Trnava, was, if not a polymath, a Jesuit with very broad interests; he wrote a book on metallurgy, revised Turóczi’s *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, and produced a study of the diplomatics of the Eger diocese.⁷⁴ Schmitth’s attention to political and military struggles along what would become the southern boundary of the Austrian Province remains an important source for the history of rebellions against Ottoman rule in the mid-seventeenth century.⁷⁵ The presence of the astronomer Joannes Sajnovics (1733–1785), famed as the companion of Maximilianus Hell in his polar journeys and as discoverer of connections between

⁷² Gömöri, review of *Skóciai Szent Margittól a Walesi bárdokig: magyar-angol történeti és irodalmi kapcsolatok*, by Fest, *Slavic and East European Review* 81, no. 3 (2003): 551–553; here 551.

⁷³ Földvári, *Quaestiones*, 37.

⁷⁴ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 317–318; Schmitth, *Episcopi Agrienses fide diplomatum concinnati, opera r. p. Nicolai Schmitth...*, 3 vols. (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis Collegii Societatis Jesu, 1768).

⁷⁵ Király, “Die Čiprovce in Ungarn,” 4.

Finnish and Hungarian, as an active astronomer in Trnava is further evidence of the intellectual caliber of at least some facets of its university life.⁷⁶ Valentinus Kéri, whom we have already met, was active in Trnava at mid-century, as was Paulus Makó, later renowned as the principle author of the Theresian *Ratio Educationis* and a mathematician of note.⁷⁷ In this stimulating environment Ignatius Batthyány (1741–1798) an offspring of one of the most distinguished magnate families, future bishop of Transylvania and one of the outstanding bibliophiles of his day, received encouragement in his own historical researches.⁷⁸ The capacity of the Trnava community to extend its influence to the edges of the Habsburg realms had not been lost. But by the time Sajnovics was working in Trnava, during the last decade before the Suppression, the retreat of the Ottoman frontier and the dramatic showdown with Protestant ecclesiastical leaders were far in the past. In addition to having lost its position on the periphery, Trnava continued to be far from the Uniate populations and from the remnants of restive and still unconverted Calvinist and Lutheran populations to the northeast. Like Győr and Komárno, Trnava in the eighteenth century went from being directly in the path of Turkish raiders (and occasionally, more locally grown rebels) to functioning as part of the interior network of Jesuit communities in a territory undergoing rapid population growth.⁷⁹ The relative proximity of the town to Vienna meant that as time went on its economic position followed a somewhat different course from that

⁷⁶ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 309. See also Csapodi, “Newtonianizmus a nagyszombati jezsuita egyetemen.”

⁷⁷ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 216. Hóman calls Kéri, Muszka, Joannes Prileszky (1709–1790), and Schmitth “the outstanding circle of Georgius Pray, the Jesuit data-collecting scholars of the Trnava university and *residencia*.” Hóman, *Történetírás*, 377. Prileszky taught at Trnava for eight years, was university chancellor there and also directed the press. Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 281. During this later period the press also produced an edition of the Hungarian-Latin dictionary of the Calvinist physician Franciscus Pápai Páriz. Horányi, *Memoria*, iii, 35.

⁷⁸ Jakó, “Batthyány Ignác,” 78.

⁷⁹ Census data for the population of Hungary at the beginning of the eighteenth century do not exist; by 1787 a census indicated a population of about nine million. It is probable that this is a 150% to 200% increase from a century earlier. Faragó, “Kinship in Rural Hungary,” 316. See also Murphey, *Ottoman warfare*, 253–254.

of eastern Hungary; yet at the same time the geographical and demographic center of gravity of the kingdom was returning to its natural position in Buda, which would eventually contribute to the removal of the university to that city in 1777.

Thus despite the innovations in the studies of some of the key Jesuits active in Trnava, the broader picture of the cluster of the Society's schools reveals a profound institutional conservatism exemplified by the continued mobility of many of these Jesuit intellectuals and the extending of their activities over many literary fields. This is evident in the career of the very late baroque polymath Joannes Molnár (1728–1804).⁸⁰ Molnár's interests included church history, theology, and natural history but his principle contribution to the culture of Trnava, where he taught from 1762 to 1766, were his writings in Hungarian, most notably *A régi jeles épületekről kilentz könyvei* [Nine books on notable old buildings] (Nagy-Szombatban: Akadémiai Betókkal, 1760).⁸¹ Like so many other Jesuits who sojourned in Trnava teaching, Molnár spent a part of his career far to the east, moving to Oradea in 1772 to serve as the *theologus* to the Catholic bishop. After the Suppression, Molnár continued the tradition of Jesuit teachers who were interested in Hungarian history and literature, producing a *Historiae Hungariae Synopsis* and becoming the founder of the renowned *Magyar Könyvtár*.⁸² By the time that Molnár was composing his Hungarian language works (in which even the publication data were faithfully translated into Hungarian) a significant trend, if perhaps not an actual shift, was underway in the Society's broader view of language usage: in 1765 a play was even staged in French to celebrate the marriage of the new Emperor, Joseph II.

In fact, Trnava had been the site of Jesuit publication in Hungarian as early as 1658, when a sodality had sponsored the printing of *A halállal tusakodok annya* [Mother of Those Struggling with Death]

⁸⁰ Szilas, "Molnár János," in O'Neill and Dominguez, eds., *Diccionario*, iii, 2719.

⁸¹ Despite its late date, this work was a throwback to Jesuit writings of the high baroque, with its speculations regarding the language Adam and Eve spoke in Paradise, and the description of Hermes Trismegistus as a real person. Szőnyi, "The occult sciences in early modern Hungary," 43.

⁸² Fehér, "Egy népfelvilágosító mű 1775-ből."

by Thomas Jászberényi (1597–1658), and the production of Hungarian titles in the humanities a century later did not represent so much a break with the past as an expansion of the topics made available to a vernacular readership.⁸³ However the realignment of the status of vernacular and classical languages in the publications of the Society had less of an impact on the position of Slovak, both in Trnava and elsewhere, owing to the far smaller audience for such works and also because Hungarian national identity had developed by the 1760s to a far greater degree than comparable sentiments among Slovak speakers. Franciscus Faludi, who would emerge as one of the most important Hungarian language poets of the century, spent eleven years in Trnava; no comparable figure in the evolution of Slovak can claim a comparable connection to the Jesuit university.⁸⁴ This differential was enhanced by the fading but still surviving ideal of the *Regnum Marianum*, which while it did not focus on language or folkways, was inextricably tied to ancient Hungarian, and not to Slovak national identity.⁸⁵ Pre-Suppression Trnava was not the seat of a “Hungarian university” in any modern sense of the phrase, but in its final years it did play host to a memorable weaving of Hungarian and transnational baroque and rococo sensibilities with a generous dash of rationalist empiricism. But even without the threat of the suppression of the Society, the increasing obsolescence of the *Ratio* program coupled with the arteriosclerosis that afflicted most Central European universities meant that the Trnava university was not in the position to capitalize on either the scientific revolutions or the profound changes in curriculum that lay ahead.

Despite a relative decline in the importance of the town and the Jesuit enterprises in it during the decades before the Suppression, the story of the cluster of schools founded by the Society is largely one of success on the Counter-Reformation Society’s own terms, since their goal to train Jesuits, Uniate clergy, and diocesan priests in large numbers at a relatively high level of academic competence was achieved.⁸⁶

⁸³ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 759.

⁸⁴ Tezla, *Hungarian Authors*, 152.

⁸⁵ For the pre-Christian core of the *Regnum Marianum* myth see Williams, *Women out of Place*, 168.

⁸⁶ As early as 1585, the future bishop of Csanád-Timișoara, Georgius Dubovszky (1567?–1637), was being trained at the *seminarium* for priests

The financial support offered to poor students guaranteed that the student population of the town remained relatively diverse socially (although the goal of such support was of course not to create a particular kind of “diverse” student population but always to draw upon the maximum amount of talent to serve the Church’s objectives). The introduction of juridical studies, the publication of scholarly works, the cautious venturing towards the dissemination of vernacular (i.e. Slovak) works and the survival of a functioning university until and beyond the Suppression are evidence of the stability this collection of schools founded by the Society achieved and maintained in the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Trnava also became a modest repository of Jesuit experience far from Hungary: It was one of the homes of Gabriel Kapi (1658–1728), who not only had served in many communities along the seventeenth-century periphery as far east as Cluj, but was one of the very few Hungarian Jesuits of his day to travel to Italy for study.⁸⁸

in Trnava. Absolvents of the Jesuit schools of Trnava could become powerful figures on the periphery: Ferdinand Pálffy (1620–1685), scion of one of the magnate families who patronized the Trnava University and a Jesuit, became bishop of the same see, as did his cousin Thomas, who spent the 1634–1635 academic year in Trnava. Georgius Fenessy, bishop of Eger (1632–1699), had also been a Jesuit for a time and also studied in Trnava. Georgius Széchenyi (1600–1695), after leaving Trnava, was successively bishop of Csanád-Timișoara, Pécs, Veszprém (the last two then under Ottoman rule), and Győr, archbishop of Kalocsa, and finally primate of Hungary. Perhaps the most influential of these former students was Georgius Szelepcsényi (1595–1685), who in addition to holding the Csanád-Timișoara see briefly (which seems to have functioned as a stepping stone for fast-tracked aristocratic prelates) became primate of Hungary in 1666. Diocesan priests trained in Trnava might also rise to these heights: Stephanus Telekessy (1633–1715) held the same post for ten years. Juhász, *Das Tschanad-Temesvarer Bistum*, 143; 168; 183; 198; 152; 154–157; 203.

⁸⁷ However, Count Franciscus Barkoczy, the primate of Hungary from 1761 to 1765, took the *Seminarium Sancti Adalberti* where Uniate clergy were trained away from the Society and allowed for the canons of Esztergom to manage it instead. Szentpétery, *A Bölcsészettudományi Kar*, 34. The establishment in 1769 of a medical faculty in which the Jesuits played no role, further diluted the cumulative influence of the Society on the educational community.

⁸⁸ Katona, *Historia Critica...* 38, 868. Kapi’s time as rector of the university was characterized by the last great flowering of baroque devotional practices, including the promotion of Marian sodalities. Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 323.

The role of Trnava in the Society's work along the eastern periphery of Catholic Europe can therefore be viewed in two phases: Before and after it ceased to be on the periphery itself. During the earlier period, Trnava experienced both the development of a collection of Jesuit schools whose teachers, brothers, and students collectively made up a large portion of the population of the town, and the tensions and insecurities—as well as opportunities—resulting from its proximity to the frontier. The distorted and truncated form of Royal Hungary meant that its most distant easterly regions would remain vulnerable to domination by magnates who could claim resources and loyalties which the Habsburgs could not easily lay hands on. Yet this eastern region, along with Transylvania and less clearly defined territories that included Ottoman Hungary and the Ottoman client states of Wallachia and Moldavia, were all destinations for men trained in Trnava, and helped give the complex of Jesuit projects in the town their *raison d'être*. At the same time the relative proximity to Trnava of Vienna, the Habsburg *Rezidenzstadt* and nerve center of the Austrian Province, compared with the great distance to some of the peripheral regions to which the absolvents of Trnava's schools were destined, underlined the power relations within the Province and among various groups trained in these schools.⁸⁹ And just as the town's Jesuit church, dedicated in 1628, influenced later churches built by the Society to the north and east,⁹⁰ likewise the sodalities fostered, and the structures of missions generated in Trnava served as models for smaller Jesuit enterprises further in the hinterlands. These models did not ultimately originate in this Jesuit university town but were part of the Society's larger culture that admitted relatively little variation in the seventeenth century. The Jesuit community of Trnava was instead a point of distillation and transmission of the Society's institutional culture and the products of that culture,⁹¹ and only in the latter years of the enterprise do we see any real appreciation of the dynamic changes taking place in local con-

⁸⁹ The "National Synod" of Ruthenian Uniate clergy, held in Trnava in 1648, is typical of these relations. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 178.

⁹⁰ Kaufmann, "East and West," 289.

⁹¹ One aspect of this culture that colored the Society's efforts in Hungary was the persisting gap between experiential knowledge and accepted certainties. Gorman, "The Angel and the Compass," 255.

ditions in the literary output of its members. The seventeenth century was still a period of significant educational expansion for the Society, and with this expansion came a degree of cosmopolitanism as students from distant lands sometimes enrolled in the newer Jesuit schools. Thus Poles and Croats were attending the Trnava university during the first century of its existence, and among those awarded the Th.D. in 1660, was “Thomas de Burgo, presbyter (priest), nobilis,” a native of Connaught, Ireland.⁹² Along with this cosmopolitan crowd were also the principle supports of the Society’s political and ecclesiastical position in Hungary, including representatives of the greatest magnate families.⁹³ A figure spanning both phases in the history of the community was Franciscus Csepelényi (1676–1737). Born in Győr when it was still a fortified frontier town, Csepelényi early in his career worked “sub vestito alieno” (in disguise) in Transylvania, and lectured and managed the printing press in Košice, but later was master of novices in Trenčín and rector in Trnava.⁹⁴ Trnava was also where Csepelényi probably contributed to the production of a classic baroque drama glorifying the new king, Charles III, complete with emblematic touches.⁹⁵ By the time he died in Buda the culture of the baroque in Hungary was waning, with no clear stylistic successor.

The destination of so many of the men trained in its schools kept the focus of the Trnava community facing eastward, in contrast to some other communities in the Austrian province such as Trieste. This eastern emphasis extended to *coadjutores temporales* trained in Trnava: Joannes Juvand, born in Silesia in 1723, took the pharmaceutical skills he gained in Trnava to Uzhhorod, where he died in 1767.⁹⁶

⁹² Bognár, Kiss, and Varga, *A nagyszombati egyetem*, 150.

⁹³ Prince Paul Esterházy (1635–1713), for example, was trained in Trnava. Gates-Coon, *The Landed Estates of the Esterházy Princes*, xvii.

⁹⁴ Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 50; Pavercsik, “Egy jezsuita tulajdonban...” 339.

⁹⁵ Knapp, “Emblematic Manner of Expression in the School Drama,” footnote 67. Miskolc 2002 Academia Ludi et Artis / Gradatio. <http://magyarszak.uni-miskolc.hu/kiadvanyok/drama2002/ea/knapp.htm>

⁹⁶ *Lit. An. Prov. Aust* 1767, B. P. V. 12.161, fols. 77v–78r, ÖNB. In 1647, Brother Georgius Jaszy or Piroška, born in Iași and described in Jesuit records as “Moldavo–Hungarus” and therefore perhaps of Csángó stock, served in Trnava. Jaszy’s background was highly unusual for a *coadjutor temporalis*: “Ingressus Romae ex Collegio Germanico et missus in Austriam ad

This eastern focus and the prominent presence of Jesuits who spoke Hungarian as their first language was reflected in the multiple missions carried out under the auspices of the university, some of them in regions far removed from Trnava but still having a predominantly Hungarian-speaking population.⁹⁷ While recent scholarship has shown that perhaps close to half of the students enrolled in this period spoke Slovak as their first language, it would be anachronistic to call the seventeenth-century university “Slovak”, just as the designation “Hungarian” would be equally inaccurate. Yet the appearance of Jesuit-sponsored Slovak publications early in the eighteenth-century point to an awareness of the importance of this linguistic group.⁹⁸

The period following 1686, with the exception of the years of the Rákóczi rebellion, saw not only the stabilization of all of the regions within the Habsburg lands to which the schools of Trnava sent clergy, but the gradual stalling of the several Uniate projects and the increasing distance between the educational objectives of the *Ratio* and the range of curricular topics now under consideration in the debates taking place in Vienna and in the Protestant universities of the German-speaking world.⁹⁹ While the program offered in Trnava and spread throughout the Habsburg East was continuing to be replicated in the east, this former geographic source of support for the entire educational project stood close to Vienna and thus potentially to the influence of the Enlightenment, while the geographically mobile Jesuits were mostly standing still intellectually. Aside from some innovations launched in the theological training of priests, the reforms that characterized the 1740s and 50s barely touched the Jesuit schools of Trnava.¹⁰⁰ Mag-

novitiatum” (entered [the Society] from the Collegium Germanicum and was sent to Austria to the novitiate). Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 629.

⁹⁷ Kazy, *Historia Universitatis*, 225–249.

⁹⁸ The funeral oration of Katarina Okolicsany, delivered in the “Slovak Church” in Banská Bystrica by Michael Krumholz, was published in 1719. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 1262. By the 1750s Trnava had become an important center for the publication of Slovak religious literature. Auty, “The Evolution of Literary Slovak,” 148.

⁹⁹ As early as the 1750s major changes in the curricula of law faculties of Austrian universities were being mandated. Bernard, *The Limits of Enlightenment*, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Waldapfel, “A magyarországi közoktatás története,” 4.

nates continued to send their sons to Trnava, and on one level—the level reported in Jesuit records—the *status quo* seemed intact.¹⁰¹

The economic backwardness of large stretches of the east and the faltering in this region of the larger project of the total Catholicization as expressed in a baroque idiom were factors that fed upon one another after the Peace of Szatmár in ways perhaps not anticipated by either the civil or ecclesiastical leadership of Hungary. Moves by the court in Vienna to ban pilgrimages and to reduce religious holidays did not gain momentum until almost the moment of the Suppression but long before this it was obvious that “time consuming retreats... were not characteristic of Roman Catholicism in Transylvania.”¹⁰² The same could be said for many other parts of the periphery, despite the Society’s efforts to implant these traditions. In Trnava, earlier accounts of processions in which holy images were displayed in hopes of warding off the plague disappear from the record by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The Catholic culture that was the intended complement of the Jesuit town of Trnava was never fully realized, and by the 1750s some Jesuits may have realized this. Like the impressive buildings erected to house the Society’s projects, the forms of the baroque remained and ceased to evolve while the enthusiasm of the lay persons needed to sustain this aesthetic wane. Yet while its creative force decreased, the aesthetic propagated from Trnava did not die completely, surviving, among other places, in Orthodox and Eastern Rite communities along and beyond the Habsburg periphery.¹⁰³ After great mate-

¹⁰¹ Carolus Esterházy (1725–1799), future bishop of Eger, was enrolled in the Trnava *seminarium* in 1741.

¹⁰² Kovács, “Az új egyházpolitikai irányvonal,” 12 (author’s translation).

¹⁰³ An example of this “soft” penetration of Jesuit aesthetics into the southern and predominantly Orthodox Christian Habsburg frontier is the “Carmina Figurata” or pattern poetry found in the Orthodox Archbishopric of Karlovici. Todorović, *An Orthodox Festival Book*, 117–118. To the northeast the Ruthenian Church also incorporated this aesthetic into its own traditions. The frontispiece illustration of Joannicus Basliovits’ *Imago vitae monasticae* (Cassovia: Ex Typographia Ellegeriana 1802) strives for a fusion of traditional Eastern and baroque styles, showing a monk emulating Christ’s suffering on the Cross while a crouching Devil tries to tempt him. Above the monk’s head a serene Saviour, his head surrounded by a halo in the Eastern style, offers a crown. Special thanks to the Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, for providing access to this book.

rial and spiritual investment in a model reflecting the aspirations of the successful decades following the Council of Trent, the Austrian Province did not have nor seek another mode of formal training or of missionary endeavor.

Meanwhile Trnava did not change much. Since the town was not destined to become an academic metropolis and the draw for prospective Jesuits with particular aspirations of living on the frontier receded, students and teachers from more international backgrounds did not figure significantly in the community during the eighteenth century. The period was one of stagnation for probably the majority of European universities and especially for those within the Habsburg realms, something for which the Society had some responsibility; in any case service in Trnava could no longer by any stretch be regarded as an experience equivalent to work in the Indies. The final years of Society saw only one notably “exotic” Jesuit working in Trnava: Franciscus Xavier de Feller (1735–1802); the Brussels-born controversialist spent a few years in Trnava teaching theology before embarking on a post-Suppression career as an apologist for the Society.¹⁰⁴ By de Feller’s time the Trnava university, while still a respectable institution by the internal standards of the Habsburg lands, was far off the beaten track, in a country where de Feller could express amazement that nobles knew the works of Montesquieu.¹⁰⁵

Trnava as a Jesuit-dominated town is representative not only of the earlier expansionist phase of the Society’s program in Hungary, but also of the tensions that became increasingly visible in the Carolinian and Theresian eras as Hungary evolved into what Derek Beales has identified as three parts: the Austrian-oriented west, the Danube Basin, and the most easterly regions where “the Catholic Church was truly a missionary church.”¹⁰⁶ Even in the eighteenth century this missionary church could be very aggressive. In Transylvania, reports of the active persecution of Protestants continued to circulate into the 1720s, with Jesuits often implicated in the narratives. The Society’s occupation in Sibiu of formerly Catholic properties and the Jesuits’ aggressive

¹⁰⁴ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iii, 606–631. Thanks to Professor Derek Beales for calling my attention to this Jesuit.

¹⁰⁵ Reményi, “Ferenc Kazinczy,” 233.

¹⁰⁶ Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform*, 246.

demands for compensation contrast sharply with the contemporaneous atmosphere of Trnava where such strident inter-confessional conflict had by then died down, but which continued to be where Jesuits destined for missionary work in the east were trained.¹⁰⁷ And the Jesuit teachers of this region (often the same men) exercised an influence that stretched even further to the east into a region even more distant from the culture of Trnava, when they taught the sons of Moldavian nobles sent over the mountains to the Society's academies.¹⁰⁸ The result was often a chasm between the formational experiences of teachers and students as great as those encountered by the Society in parts of "the Indies."

The introduction of the reforms of the *Typus*, modest though these were, sharpened the difference between an academic environment in the west increasingly coming under the influence of a rationalist and bureaucratic view of schooling and the rawer world to the east where the struggle for souls continued to be conducted with emotion and frequent confrontation. In 1773 the cultural divisions of the Kingdom of Hungary remained very real, and had perhaps increased when measured from Trnava eastward. For the Danube Basin and regions to its south, now under firm Habsburg control, Trnava continued to be the single most important training center for Jesuits, although the Society's novitiate was located a short distance away, in Trenčín.¹⁰⁹ The leadership of the Austrian Province was busy with the consolidation of its position within the kingdom and periodically distracted by the festering problem of internal demands for a "Hungarian Province." Thus, while it did engage in a very modest expansion of its school system, it made no moves after 1686 to establish another major educational center closer to the newly demarcated frontier. The closest it came to such an undertaking was the creation of a school and sizeable church in Belgrade, which as we have seen, did not survive for long. The very success of the Habsburg and Jesuit efforts had stranded Trnava far from many of the most important initial points of contact with the popula-

¹⁰⁷ Herbert, "Die Gegenreformation in Hermannstadt."

¹⁰⁸ One of the most popular of these destinations was Braşov. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 56; "Historica Relatio de Initio et Progressu," ed. Netoliczka, 329.

¹⁰⁹ Bernát, "Jezuitské školstvo v stolicách trenčianskej."

tions the Society had initially been seeking out, but the prolongation of the mission ideal as conceived of in the sixteenth century well into the eighteenth did not give the Jesuit schools a new direction in which to grow.

The role of this Jesuit nerve center for the Slovak-speaking regions is much harder to delineate than for Hungarian cultural identity. Along with an awareness of the usefulness of the vernacular demonstrated by the publication of Slovak language titles,¹¹⁰ Slovak language preaching and the publication of Timon's ethnically pacific vision of region point to a notable acknowledgement of an ethnic community barely visible to the court in Vienna. However there are hints of conflicts between partisans of Hungarian and Slovak points of view, although the protagonists were not primarily Jesuits themselves.¹¹¹ The lack of a readily identifiable Slovak-speaking nobility denied the Society one of its tried and true methods of building connections to a specific secular culture. But the relationship between the eighteenth-century Trnava Jesuits and the dramatic rise in Hungarian national consciousness which blossomed in the decades immediately following the Suppression is more easily identified through not only their scholarly historical publications but also through the school textbooks that enjoyed wide circulation.¹¹² Yet the decline of the explicitly "borderlands" and "mission" character of the Society's work in Hungary meant that Hungary which was envisioned in Jesuit writings of the mid-eighteenth century could not be the same as the one conceived more than a century earlier. No longer the cockpit of a "Herculean" struggle between Christianity and Islam, and with Catholicism legally and effectively in ascendancy, Hungary would never be a heartland of a profoundly Catholic culture like Poland, but

¹¹⁰ The connection of some of the earliest of these titles of Trnava is implied but not made explicit in the sources. Daniel Sipski (1655–1704), a "bohemus" priest who had spent time in Trnava, was credited with the composition of an otherwise unknown "libellus slavonicâ linguâ" perhaps while he was serving in Rožňava. Weiser, *Vitae Patrum*, 35.

¹¹¹ Tensions had surfaced as early as 1728 when, as previously noted, Michael Bencsik, a Jesuit-trained professor in the faculty of law and not a Jesuit, wrote an attack on Slovaks that was rebutted by Ján Baltazár Magin, who had been educated at the Pazmaneum. Petro, *A History of Slovak Literature*, 139–140.

¹¹² See Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, 273.

neither it would return to its previous frontier status where the fate of Christian Europe might hang in the balance. Nor was the process of re-Catholization unfolding with the same focused and compelling force that had been employed in the Hereditary Lands years earlier. As a result, the highly risky explorations of the seventeenth century were seldom duplicated in the more stable Austrian province of the eighteenth.¹¹³ The universalist vision of the Society in Hungary, of which the distinguished row of schools still standing in Trnava is arguably its most impressive surviving monument, had room for expression in national languages but no means or motivation for the further cultivation of national identities.

By the middle decades of the eighteenth century the schools of Trnava were no longer primarily training grounds for Jesuits and their allies committed to the expansion of Catholic influence into the farthest limits of Europe, nor were they destined to become cultural centers to rival the Society's schools west of the Leitha. In the end Trnava, like other aspects of the Jesuit project in Hungary, was on its way to outliving its usefulness when external forces put an end to the Jesuit presence in Hungary. Yet there is not a shred of evidence that Jesuits working in Trnava ever realized this.

¹¹³ The history of the professed house in Vienna notes almost in passing that Jesuits from this community had traveled in 1689 "per... Albaniam." *Historia Domus Professae Viennensis S. I. 1651–1689*, 2111518, fol. 459v, APA.

XII

Conclusion

The history of the Society of Jesus is one of both unparalleled success and tragic failure. The quick and sure advance of the Order penetrated all the cultural and social spheres, from education, which was the stated center of their activity, to economics and politics. Both this rapidly growing power and the methods they used provoked from the very beginning a never-ceasing reaction...¹

The Society's undertakings in the Habsburg East, viewed from a slight distance, provide more of a clear picture of activities and goals than they do when we view the documents that they generated at closer range. The compelling factors of dynastic ambition and power, ethnic tensions within the Austrian Province, and the ceaseless challenges of distance, lack of resources, and local hostility helped knit together for more than two centuries a coherent self-generated Jesuit narrative in which the objectives of the Tridentine Church are pursued with dedication and a fair amount of success. But the smaller fragments of this mosaic shed more light on the actual experiences of individual Jesuits and on those with whom they interacted than do the more ambitious narratives assembled in the *Litterae annuae* or in the works of Matthias Tanner. The day-to-day experiences of Jesuits renowned and less famous reveal the influence both of the rational, predictable, and systematic on the one hand, and the bizarre and implausible in equal

¹ Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System*, 53.

measure. Jesuits also seemed divided between sincere, even passionate cultivation of a corporate identity and the persistence of personal characteristics that no amount of discipline could completely eradicate.² The Jesuits of the Habsburg East remain for the most part identifiable as individuals, but time and time again the bureaucratic imperatives of the Society caused their individual stories to converge into a synthesized narrative which reflected not only the collective experience of Jesuits in the eastern Austrian Province but also the broader self-generated story of the Society, which saw its role as embracing the entire world and its goals no less than the salvation of entire peoples.

Amidst the grandiose plans and demonstrated reality of sacrifice and even martyrdom we find the irrational and seemingly impossible intrusion of the symbolically significant yet improbable on daily life both as experienced by, and as reported by Jesuits. The snapshot, like so many others, of a Turkish soldier firing upon a statue of Paulus Kinsky in Veszprém, only to have the bullet ricochet and kill him, sums up this aspect of Jesuit reality, as does the report of the bier of a Protestant preacher in Bratislava who had despised the Jesuits spontaneously combusting.³ Jesuits did not shrink from identifying these occurrences as examples of Divine vengeance (*ultio*) that unfailingly supported the Society and struck down its enemies.⁴ But the most remarkable invocation of *ultio* comes from the “tragicus casus” of Jacobus Jursa, who fled the Trnava *collegium* with 5,000 florins in the company of a “meretricula,” (little prostitute),

² A hint of this persisting individuality is found in the resistance of some *coadjutores temporales* to service in the Hungarian portions of the Austrian Province. “Informatio de norma divisionis Provinciae Austriae Soc. JESV,” undated, Ms. I, Ab 68 I–II/22, 3, ELTEK. Elsewhere we read that these brothers did not like the “gubernationem ac mores ungarorum, victumque ac habitationem...” P. F. Voglmayer praep. Prov. Aust. S. I., P. T. Gonzalez praep. gen. S. I. Anno 1695, *Aust.* 22, fols. 222r–227r, cited in Lukács, *A független magyar jezsuita rendtartomány*, 70.

³ Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, 21; *Annuae Literae Societatis Iesu ad annum M.D.C.LII*, 22–23. In the world of Habsburg Jesuits the possibility of miraculous transformations was not confined to historical accounts; disputations conducted at the Trnava University in the late seventeenth century raise the question of whether iron can be turned into copper. Hevenesi, *Meteorologia*, 140.

⁴ As in the case we have already seen of the woman struck dead for working on a feast day.

getting as far as Moravia, where he was killed by a “famulus.”⁵ Although the pen of the chronicler of the *Litterae annue* “shuddered” to record this scandal, it also noted that Divine *ultio* in this case did not desert even this fallen Jesuit, as the murderer died two days later.

Jesuit records mix the qualitative and the quantitative with ease. The systematic and rational expansion of the Society’s program was kept visible through the almost obsessive reporting of numbers.⁶ Yet these statistics were accompanied by the jubilant reporting of supernatural violations of the usual order of things, either witnessed or reported, each instance of which advanced or pointed the way for the mission of the Society. Without a vivid consciousness of these violations the educational, and to a large degree, the missionary enterprises of the Jesuits might still have remained intact, but the validity and especially, the excitement of their enterprise would have been diminished. Miraculous and improbable occurrences were of course not unique to the Austrian Province but had been part of the Society’s lore from the very beginning, being carried at times to poetic heights in the memorializing of martyred saints and in legends about Ignatius, one of which had him born in a manger.⁷ In a setting such as the Habsburg East where long-term or easily documented achievement of goals could prove elusive and measurable achievement equivocal, the retelling of such violations of the natural order became an essential part of the culture of the Society. The story of how Joannes Gyologi (1686–1761), otherwise remembered as the “Hungarian Cicero,” exhibited a nimbus, was handed down in the lore of the Province.⁸ The ecstatic trances of Andreas

⁵ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 165; *Lit. Ann. Prov. Aust. 1688, Austria 147–148*, fol. 111r, ARSI.

⁶ The Uzhhorod mission fortified itself against a sense of failure or stalemate by highlighting the numbers of persons taking communion: 2190 in 1743, 1895 in 1748, and 1410 in 1754. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fols. 72r, 83v, and 92v, JLB.

⁷ In retold narratives the sordid realities of life and death could be transformed into the transcendent. Thus after his death at the hands of the Turks, the body of Abraham Jorge, a Maronite Christian Jesuit active in the sixteenth century, was visited for four days in a row by two birds “of unusual beauty and rarity.” Valdivia, *Libro de algunos varones ilustres*, fol. 1v, BRBC. For myths surrounding the life of the Founder, see Van Dyke, *Ignatius Loyola*, 359.

⁸ Velics, *Vázlatok*, iii, 75.

Sigrai (1681–1749) in which he foresaw the future, are another instance where supernatural occurrences added to the collective memory of the Jesuit enterprise.⁹ Taken in small pieces these self-consciously assembled accounts of Jesuit communities, unless they faced the sort of dire extremities we have seen reported in Levoča, speak continually of exceptional, repeated progress and success, as do contemporaneous reports from Jesuit missions throughout the world.¹⁰ Since the reality of generally much more mixed results must have escaped the attention of only the most blinkered Jesuits, the Society's chroniclers and their fellow Jesuit readers were compelled to look to the miraculous for evidence of Divine favor bestowed on the Society, even in the face of setbacks to the Jesuits' practical program.

For the Jesuits of the Habsburg periphery, the miraculous assumed a particular importance both because of the readiness with which many of the local inhabitants—even those with little love for the Jesuits—accepted its reality and, as time went on, because of the lack of other characteristic—or at least hoped for—elements of Jesuit narratives, such as the conversion of a powerful potentate, which could add greater meaning to the Society's enterprise. “Superstitio,” once identified, was of course to be eradicated, but since it was seemingly always present among the nominally Christian populations in which Jesuits worked, the fathers inevitably reacted to its presence and were probably unconsciously influenced by it as they reflected upon their own experiences. At the same time many Jesuits had been raised in environments where beliefs the Society viewed as “superstitio” were the norm, and would have felt a special need to distance themselves from the folkways they were committed to stamping out or reshaping.¹¹ Stephanus Makó, writing from Caransebeş very early in the Catholic

⁹ Weiser, *Vitae Patrum*, 68.

¹⁰ One might choose almost at random from Jesuit *Historiae* for examples of this hyperbole; characteristic is the description of the piety, virtue, and literary accomplishments of the gymnasium students in Uzhhorod in 1734. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 60v, JLB.

¹¹ French Jesuits, for example, who opposed the tradition of “St. John's Fire,” demonstrated a deep understanding of the dynamics of a canonically unacceptable custom whereby the dead were placated, but still physically opposed the continuance of this annual ritual. Schneider, “Spirits and the Spirit of Capitalism,” 42.

push to bring the region into line with Trent, admitted candidly, "... noster populus plenus superstitionibus vitiisque omnibus adeoque corruptus ut facilius apud paganos negotium meum" (our people [are] full of every superstition and vice, so corrupt that in fact my work is easier among the pagans).¹² In addition to being an expression of deep frustration (and cultural superiority), this statement suggests the idiom in which the missionary was compelled to communicate while isolated for years at a time far from Jesuit schools or sizable residences.¹³ At the same time the Jesuit missionary's conviction of his familiarity with the "superstitions and vices" that he deplored, yet knew so well, and his desire to remain separate from them, would have profoundly influenced his own modes of interaction with local inhabitants. In Makó's case the situation was exacerbated by the fact that he did not know Romanian, something that his Romanian-speaking companion Georgius Buitul continually alluded to.¹⁴ The isolation brought on by language and cultural barriers strengthened Makó's sense of distance from local practices, which in turn reduced the chance that the missionary would have interactions with local inhabitants that would break down the language barrier. Thus the longer such missionaries remained in their mission, the more alienated from their neighbors they were liable to become.

The experiences of other Jesuits on the peripheries may have been less extreme than Father Makó's, but the cumulative impact of entrenched beliefs in magic, coupled with negative attitudes towards folkways held by Jesuits was surely significant for many who worked in remote settings far from the supportive network of Jesuit schools and

¹² Stephanus Makó to Cardinal Lodvico Ludovisi, Caransebeș, 22 January 1631, cited in ed. Sávai, *Missziós dokumentumok*, 179.

¹³ A report from Săcueni (Székelyhid), a town in the *partium* close to the Turkish frontier, clearly lays out the challenges of such isolated posts. The one priest in the community in 1663 feels the isolation, as there are no other Catholic clergy for many miles in any direction. He teaches catechism in German, Hungarian, and "Slavic" (which may in this instance mean Romanian as the term was sometimes misapplied in this way). He has no money and when mutineers loot the local fortress, he remains behind, unable to travel without mercenary escort. von Krones, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens," 342–343.

¹⁴ Periș, *Le missioni gesuite*, 101–102.

communities where they could at least communicate through a shared idiom. This was as true for *coadjutores temporales* as it was for priests, and at times possibly even more so, if the brother had left secular society to become a Jesuit at an older age. At the same time “superstitio,” however conceived, should not be seen as exclusively a product of the periphery. Nor was this “superstitio” only found in a wider world saturated with folk beliefs and with which the Society constantly interacted but as an entity separated from it. The climate of Jesuit schools, with its incessant stress upon combating the Deceiver and watching constantly for his works, may itself unwittingly have fostered the practice of engaging in “superstitio.” In sophisticated Vienna a “ferale chiographum” (the writing of death rites) through which students had been making pacts with the Devil was intercepted by the teachers of the *collegium*. The very attention paid to this incident in the Society’s records might have had the effect of encouraging further explorations among future Jesuits and *externi* alike of this attractive forbidden fruit.¹⁵

After the 1680s no more Jesuits were martyred in Hungary or Transylvania, nor were many even subjected to systematic persecution and imprisonment. A significant number of those imprisoned by Thököly, the last group of Jesuits to suffer in this fashion, survived the ordeal to continue their careers.¹⁶ In terms of the possibilities and potentialities for the Society, the Treaty of Szatmár in 1711 that brought an end to internal strife was a watershed.¹⁷ The future struggles of Jesuits were unlikely to involve the dramatic efforts of a Lucas Kollich amidst the dead and dying of a battlefield, or the onerous travels by

¹⁵ *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesv anni 1650*, 91.

¹⁶ E.g. the casuist Andreas Szluka, seized by the kuruc in 1683, ended his days in Košice a free man, a decade later. Fejér, *Defuncti*, 162. Franciscus Topos (1613–1683), while not dramatically martyred, did die in captivity. In the retelling of his trials this priest gained the distinction of having his captors called “so many leopards” (*sub militum totidem Leopardor’ custodia*). *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I, Ab 144, fol. 202, ELTEK; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 367. Perhaps at about the same time Father Joannes Lingoi (1623–1689) “captivus Tartarorum,” was freed from “barbarorum Tyrannide.” *Elogia Defunctorum VII*, Ms. I, Ab 143, leaf inserted between fols. 314 and 315, ELTEK.

¹⁷ Bérenger, *Die Geschichte des Habsburgerreiches*, 428; Szelényi, *The Failure of the Central European Bourgeoisie*, 77–78.

caravan of Joannes Grueber. Yet the eighteenth-century Jesuit laboring in the more remote corners of Hungary still could aspire to what Father Andreas Pogány (–1739) had achieved, according to his obituary: “singularis animi demissio, inconcussus rebus in adversis animus...” (the singular modesty of his spirit, one unbeaten in the face of many adversities...).¹⁸ The life story of Joannes Berzevitz (1692–1750) demonstrated another familiar kind of virtuous, self-denying behavior—or so his actions were intended to be read—still attainable in the eighteenth century: “Miles primum, tum nobili sponsae junctus, quam tamen cum prima nuptiarum die dimisset, a Primate vinculo solutus, a 1714 Societatem petit...” (A soldier early in his career, he was then betrothed to a noble woman, but on the first day of the wedding celebrations sent her away, had the Primate dissolve the bonds of marriage, and from 1714 sought admission into the Society...).¹⁹ Clearly even in this climate of reduced emotional stakes, the miraculous was not only possible, it was even necessary for a Province where death might still threaten, not in a heroic but in a glum and depressing fashion.²⁰

But while high stakes and personal risk were certainly part of the culture the Society desired to foster, not merely in the Habsburg lands, but throughout the Jesuit world, these elements were at times counterbalanced by other motivations for a vocation as a Jesuit. Luke Closey provocatively refers to “Lutheran Jesuits” of the late sixteenth-century Polish Province whose motives for joining, far from a desire to evangelize or “seek the Indies,” were rather a longing to escape the dangers of the world and to save their own souls.²¹ Even if we cannot generalize from these very surprising data indicating that only 0.6% of these Jesuits desired martyrdom, Closey’s point compels an examination of the question of the motivation of Habsburg Jesuits, and whether this

¹⁸ *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 72r, JLB.

¹⁹ Stoecker, *Scriptores*, 28.

²⁰ Father Josephus Bereni arrived at the Uzshorod community in 1707 at a time of war and plague “... ubi in propria morose receptus, brevi Cassoviam expeditus est. Illinc pestilentia superveniente extinctus est.” (... when he had sadly reached his home territory, he soon was ready to set out for Košice. On the way, overcome with the plague, he died.) *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 30v, JLB.

²¹ Closey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 119–122.

motivation changed over time. And while conditions were by no means identical on different continents, Dauril Alden's observations about the longevity of Jesuits identify additional nuances in a decision to join the Society.²²

Yet despite the mixed—or not so mixed—motives of some Jesuit recruits, the rural missions of the Society conducted in the most remote parts of the Austrian Province, such as the Eastern Carpathians, remained part of a larger Jesuit corporate culture in which travel to the most remote communities promoted a sense of identity and *esprit de corps*. The remoteness and difficulty associated in the early days with apostolic labors in these regions also helped place the activities of the Austrian Province in the seventeenth century on a footing somewhat more comparable to the Society's enterprises in the "Indies," locations that typically garnered more recognition both within the Society and among the readers of its publications. Jesuit communities in the eastern Habsburg lands might therefore be outposts in their own right as well as points of departure into the frontier between Europe and "not Europe," places from which forays into an indistinctly defined "east" as sought by Beke, Ravasz, and others, might be undertaken; until the end the Uzhhorod *collegium*, with its contacts to a Uniate Church resembling other Uniate Churches in Ukraine and elsewhere, retained some of these characteristics. The continual effort expended by Jesuit communities to mount these missionary projects set a tone that counterbalanced, if not always complemented, the educational emphasis sustained by their *collegia* and academies, and indeed the reporting in Jesuit documents of missionary activities generally remained much more detailed than that of educational efforts all the way until the Suppression.

If the skills and strengths of the successful rural mission preacher were not always the same as the rhetorician, poet, or playwright, the Society's organization was adaptable enough to allow some men

²² Alden notes that despite shipwrecks and martyrdoms, Jesuits of the Portuguese Assistancy lived longer than aristocrats, even when sent to unhealthy tropical environments. He speculates that lower levels of venereal diseases, fewer deaths as a result of duels, and knowledge of pharmacopeia may have helped, although he concludes that a better diet was the most important factor in Jesuit longevity. Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 281–282; 677.

to focus on one activity more than another, although many instances exist of Jesuits mismatched in a teaching assignment. As we have seen, the mobility of even those Jesuits who were skilled Latinists and theologians, especially in the first decades of the Society's aggressive expansion of its academic network, was often extreme.²³ Such features of the Jesuit system were however better suited to the Austrian Province of the seventeenth century than that of the eighteenth. This was because as populations grew and rural areas became resettled, the need for a more stable parochial organization, a need only intensified by the Society's success in conversion and reconversion, became acute. The itinerant preacher could still stir hearts, but the priest who was integrated into a community was also needed as the community rebuilt and expanded.

The question of the motivations for seeking a Jesuit vocation becomes more pressing as we move towards the middle of the eighteenth century. By then Eastern Europe, despite its formidable difficulties and frustrations, could claim no imposing potentates, whose conversion would have brought salvation to entire empires, to be converted, no vast populations utterly unfamiliar with the Gospel message of salvation (although Jesuit records return repeatedly to the ignorance of Eastern Rite believers, and the actual beliefs of the Roma remained largely a mystery to Jesuits seeking to covert them), no Protestant communities with armies recently defeated in pitched battle and ripe for Jesuit harvesting, and no seas filled with heretic sailors ready to cast Jesuit missionaries into the sea, thereby creating new martyrs.²⁴ The Uniate Churches project, viewed over the long term, was a modest success, but it seemed to lose momentum and start to founder by the middle of

²³ Thus Michael Földvári, whose understanding of early Hungarian history, if inaccurate, was at least the result of diligent examination of a wide range of documents, was placed in a variety of assignments, including master of novices, and like so many other Jesuits had to attend to the rescue and preservation of materiel such as pharmacopeia and printing tools during the chaos of the Rákóczi rebellion. Thaly, ed., *Gróf Eszterházy Antal kurucz generális tábori könyve*, 454 [18 November 1706]. The relationship of the Jesuits mentioned in this diary to this unrepentant kuruc commander is not certain.

²⁴ The defining image of this category of martyrdom is found in Tanner, *Societatis Jesu*, 171.

the eighteenth century as resistance to union with Rome and the rebellion of the Jesuits' star Transylvanian Uniate pupil, Inocențiu Micu-Klein (1692–1768), brought turmoil.²⁵ This loss of momentum was, among other things, a symptom of curious deficiencies within the Society's own ranks. Thaddeaus Manner (1707–1785), a native speaker of German working among Romanian speakers, was credited with having learned to read Romanian "perfecte."²⁶ In a Society so famed for the linguistic ambitions and attainments of its members such praise hints at the lack of engagement with local populations and their languages that dragged down the Jesuit program and reveals the fatigue afflicting the entire Society. For the Jesuits of the Austrian Province, divided over ethnicity and to a lesser extent curriculum,²⁷ and stretched to capacity in their sometimes competing missionary endeavors, one world was proving to be enough.²⁸ Moreover, the practical success of the efforts of the Society created an environment that did not hold the obvious risks and rewards that the unlimited horizons of the Society's first decades had provided. Some of the Society's communities, such as the one established in Cluj, were not only dominant in the town but also (as a community) owned scores of serfs and vast tracts of property. Eventually forces external to Hungary and even to the Austrian Province transformed the Jesuit world and placed the role of the "Jesuit

²⁵ Evans, *Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs*, 163. The Ruthenian Uniates produced no leaders as assertive in pursuing their own rights as Micu-Klein, but despite over a century of influence in the region, the Society did not succeed in producing a stratum of the population fully imbued with the intellectual and spiritual ideals implicit in the *Ratio*.

²⁶ Nilles, *Symbolae*, 641.

²⁷ The *Typus* of 1735 was by no means a break with the *Ratio* curriculum, but it did place a greater emphasis on the history of the Danube Basin and even contained a reference to Richelieu, who had lived only a century earlier. *Typus*, 247. By 1770, Jesuits at the Trnava university were teaching Hungarian, French, German, and finally, in 1772–1773, Italian. Fischer, "Jesuiten-Universitäten," 184–185.

²⁸ However, our picture of this period is rendered incomplete by the loss of key documents, such as the *Matricula* of the Jesuit gymnasium in Cluj for the years 1702–1772, which disappeared, along with many other allied documents, during the 1956 revolution. Varga, *Katolikus közép- és felsőoktatás*, 66. doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/vargajulia/disszert.pdf

triumphing over adversity” in a position very different from what it had been in the seventeenth century.²⁹

Surveying this transition in the role of individual Jesuits working throughout Hungary and Transylvania, we can see a shift from the career of a “model” Jesuit of the late seventeenth century such as Sámbar who traveled everywhere and who experienced highly publicized privations, to the late baroque Timon, who suffered physically as well, but whose greatest contributions were in a body of scholarly if devout work. By the time we arrive at the environment in which Pray and Katona worked, apostolic labors, although they continued to occupy much space in the Society’s self-documentation, are complemented by participation in other kinds of conversations. The answers to the questions: Why spend one’s life as a Jesuit? Or even: What do Jesuits do? have likewise become more complex. This does not necessarily mean that piety within the Society had died away or even that the majority of the Jesuits working in the Habsburg East shared the intellectual aspirations of the physical scientists or historians of Trnava. But the work of the last generation of Jesuit intellectuals active in the pre-Suppression Austrian Province is witness to the discontinuity between the goals (and methods) of a guardian of truth such as Martinus Szentiványi and the probing, sifting and balancing of evidence pursued by Katona. This shift may be interpreted as the capitulation of an obsolete model of data collection in the face of a powerful rationalism, but it is far from certain that this is how the Jesuits themselves understood it. Even as late as 1773 the gulf between the rationalistic inquiry of some Jesuit writers and the more traditional views of causality and cosmology that were undoubtedly held by many of their colleagues may have still been less significant than their sense of shared enterprise that had been fostered for two centuries. In the highly literate Protestant regions of Hungary, the written word also joined Jesuits together. Even the

²⁹ One of the last documented cases of a teacher in a Jesuit school in the Habsburg East (but perhaps not a Jesuit) facing physical mistreatment was that of “syntaxeos magister” (master of the class studying Latin syntax) in Baia Mare who in 1768 was dragged before the local magistrate by invidious “Valachs” and then led away in chains. Nilles, *Symbolae*, 635. But emotion laden commentaries are noticeably missing for the records of the Society from the 1730s onward.

combative and physical Sámbar was always, in a very real sense, a man of letters. For his successors, much more evident than a break with the past was the steady attenuation of *theatra* in which this shared enterprise might be demonstrated and celebrated, a crisis not limited to the eastern portion of the Austrian Province

When, after 1760, Jesuits trained in the Austrian Province found themselves expelled from Portuguese and Spanish colonial empires, there was suffering and adversity aplenty in store for them, but by then no likely setting existed among the products of Jesuit communities in which these misfortunes might be memorialized for future generations. By the time that Hungarian Jesuits were languishing in Portuguese prisons the tradition of the Jesuit school drama was in irreversible decline.³⁰ The creators of visual, representational arts that earlier would have been producing images of these martyrs to the Society's mission were no longer focusing on producing a record of Jesuit history; the baroque aesthetic was arguably still alive in the practice of Catholicism, but no longer growing or vital. Other aspects of baroque Jesuit creativity, such as cartography, after promising beginnings had never really taken hold. And indeed the commitment of the Society to the cultivation of some elements of this aesthetic had always seemed equivocal: Choral music, for example, a glory of the Society of Jesus in many corners of the world, occupies an ambiguous (and difficult to document) position in the culture of the eastern Austrian Province. Only one priest active in this region, Daniel Benutius (1654–1699), is credited in the Society's records for work in this field, and even in this instance his assignment of “musicoru' choro” was in Kremsmünster.³¹

³⁰ While never banned in Hungary, Jesuit school dramas were suppressed in the Austrian lands by 1768, thereby effectively cutting off both a source of plots of future Hungarian productions and eliminating a future destination for recycled Hungarian Jesuit drama. Melton, *Absolutism*, 81–82; Shore and Whitehead, “Crisis and Survival,” 190.

³¹ Benutius also worked in Trnava, Trenčín, Bratislava and Banská Štiavnica, among other locations. *Elogia Defunctorum VIII*, Ms. I Ab 144, fol. 130, ELTEK; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 26. Numerous references appear in the *Diaria* of Jesuit communities to musical aspects to religious processions, etc., but no scores have been identified, nor are the composers of these works known.

In the final decades before 1773 no Matthias Tanners appeared to record the spilling of Jesuit blood or to praise Jesuit emulation of the Early Church, let alone to commemorate more recent sacrifices. On the other hand, the comparisons made in Protestant Germany between Jesuits and hated adversaries such as Turks and Jews had never had much currency east of the Leitha.³² Anti-Jesuit literature from the Habsburg East in eighteenth century was largely limited to aggressive but theologically dense attacks by Orthodox objecting to the encroachments of the Uniate Church. Thus later eighteenth-century Hungary was devoid of compelling images, either positive or negative, of Jesuits, something even the less widely circulated and more revealing records of the Society reflected.³³ By 1773 the means and impetus for the creation of any new kind of record of Jesuit triumphs and tragedies was gone. The Suppression and the later return of the Society also did away with the problem that had always been located in what later would be called the Ignatian concept of a “disciplined body as an instrument that one had to cultivate, even strengthen to be fit for social service.”³⁴ The future history of the Society would have far fewer instances of either absolute physical sacrifice or of charges that Jesuits cultivated their bodies too well. And the post-1814 Society had all it could do to try to reassemble fragments of its formerly incomparable network of schools; an ambitious retelling of its own story in its various forms of glory for a long time was out of the question. In fact this ambition had already begun to fade in the mid-eighteenth century, and thus the precise causal relationship between the change in the Society’s declining capacity for self-representation and the patterns of recruitment in the eighteenth century is not easy to tease out. Clearly, as in other Provinces, talented young men still chose lives as Jesuits: In addition to the historians with post-1773 careers whom we have

³² For the comparison of Jesuits with Jews, Moors, or Muslims, see Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, 23–25.

³³ The *Historia Collegii* of the Uzhhorod community, which had devoted considerable space during the early eighteenth century to accounts of the veneration of Jesuit saints, did not even continue such a category in the 1760s. Significantly, a section for “Cultus sanctorum” reappeared in 1773 as the Society faced its suppression. *Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis*, fol. 144r, JLB.

³⁴ Strasser, *State of Virginity*, 171.

met, the most renowned of those intellectuals who later showed interest in forms of expression that went beyond the baroque was Faludi, who was also the first poet writing in Hungarian to experiment with the sonnet form.³⁵ An even later figure with more direct ties to Jesuit communities on the peripheries was Emericus Kelcz (1707–1792), who had taught in Cluj and Košice and took his fourth vow in Banská Bystrica. Kelcz edited the letters of Matthias Corvinus, left a manuscript with strategies on how to combat heresy, and after the Suppression founded an orphanage in Kőszeg.³⁶ The career of Andreas Jaszlinszky (1715–), another Jesuit who survived into the post-Suppression era, illustrates both the opportunities open to young Jesuits hailing from the edge of the Province as well as the greater challenges facing any Jesuit working in the physical sciences. The author of a popular text produced by the Trnava press, Jaszlinszky was still expected to given prominence to Ptolemaic cosmology, although his book included a plate of the Copernican model.³⁷

Nevertheless the activities and ambitions of the lesser talented Jesuits are perhaps more suggestive of the culture existing on the peripheries in the decades before the Suppression. Sincerely held religious convictions appear to have continued to motivate many, and the cumulative importance of the schools and landed holdings of the Society would have drawn students and created employment for teachers even if the theological underpinnings of the Society's mission were in decay. For prospective *coadjutores temporales*, the appeal of a stable, orderly community of faith in which roles were clearly defined and basic needs met remained strong right up until the day that the papal breve announcing the Suppression was published. The possibilities in the Society for the gifted artisan or artist were particularly appealing. Men such as Josephus Codelli, who early on was a cook and carpenter in Uzhhorod, and later traveled throughout Danube Basin sculpting in wood and painting, found exceptional outlets for their talents as *coadjutores*

³⁵ Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature*, 79–81; Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 77–78.

³⁶ Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 176; Szinnyei, *Magyar Írók*, 3, 1352–1353.

³⁷ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, iv, 759; Jaszlinszky, *Institutiones physicae*, ii, first unnumbered plate, figure 5.

temporales.³⁸ We should not ignore the continuing economic hardships of northeastern Hungary as a factor drawing men to the stability and relative comfort of the Society.³⁹ Yet the persisting absence of Romanian or Ruthenian brothers points to either subtle institutional barriers within the Society, or, more likely, a failure of the Jesuit form of community life to offer a desirable alternative for a disadvantaged population to village or rural existence.⁴⁰ Jesuit communities, if the accounts composed by former Jesuits are to be believed, engendered strong ties of loyalty that did not dissipate with the Suppression. What these communities did not do was leave behind the means of sustaining either the Baroque religious sensibilities that had brought them into existence in the first place, or the cultural setting in which the expression of such beliefs might occur. Historians such as Marczali have argued that the eighteenth century brought a deeper connection among Hungarians and that the old enmities between Protestant and Catholic were somewhat submerged by, if not a deeply held tolerance, at least a greater appreciation of commonalities.⁴¹ Knowing what was to come in the 1780s and after, it is not hard to draw such an inference. But the deceptively shallow roots of Jesuit culture in many parts of Hungary and Transylvania, despite the passage of two centuries since they had been first planted, were also a factor in this process. As long as clearly defined adversaries remained against which Jesuits might openly struggle, the dynamic culture of *residentia* and *collegium* had a rallying cry that inspired men such as Father Gregorius Gasdagh (1638–1698), whom

³⁸ *Historia Collegii Vnghvariensis*, fol. 76r [1742]; Haris, *A tihanyi bencés apát-ság*. doktori.btk.elte.hu/art/haris/tezis.pdf

³⁹ After the middle of the eighteenth century the heights of recruits from northeastern Hungary fell behind those of western Hungary, which was closer to the Vienna market. Komlos, *Nutritional and Economic Development*, 106–107. Conditions in Ruthenia actually grew poorer during the eighteenth century, with blights afflicting crops and peasants forced to wander from place to place. Gabriel, *Pohyb Obyvatelstva v Byvalé Užské Župě*, 43–47.

⁴⁰ Class distinctions may also have played a role in the de facto exclusion of these populations from Jesuit communities; by contrast two scholarships were granted to Romanians to attend the Pazmaneum in Vienna in 1766. Once trained, these men, whatever their background, would have been part of an elite which was intended to be an ally of the Society. Călinescu, *History of Romanian Literature*, 75.

⁴¹ Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, 297.

“non modò Catholici, sed vel maximè durae cervicis haeretici Lutherani, et Calvinii, Rutheni quoque et Saraceni quorum non paucos sanctae Matri Romanae Ecclesiae aggregavit, suspexerint” (not only Catholics, but even the most stiff-necked Lutheran and Calvinist heretics, Ruthenians and even Saracens, not a few of whom he gathered into the Holy Mother Church, esteemed), or his colleague Stephanus Szentpaly (1631–1680), who labored for years in “Turcia” (probably Ottoman occupied southern Hungary) exhibiting “heroic virtues.”⁴² Jesuits in the seventeenth-century Gyöngyös could record proudly how they had survived the threats of knife-wielding Calvinists filled with passion and anger who wanted to skin them alive for the imprisonment and exile of their own pastors,⁴³ and how they had assumed disguises in order to foil the schemes of George I Rákóczi.⁴⁴ They might sleep out of doors or carry their message to caves where Catholic refugees were concealed.⁴⁵ Each of these trials, no matter how it was played out, was a worthy addition to a narrative of adversity confronted. The fading of the threat of the plague, while it certainly was a blessing for all living in Central Europe, also eliminated another formidable enemy against whom Jesuits might sacrifice themselves.⁴⁶ At the same time the special

⁴² *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms. I, Ab 139, fols. 112–113; 336–337, ELTEK. Such numerous, varied challenges doubtless added meaning to Gasdagh’s work. In the context “Rutheni” may refer to Orthodox Russians as well as Ruthenians. Szentpaly, born in Transylvania, worked in several communities along the frontier and may have died in Pécs; his death is not among those noted by Lukács.

⁴³ “... sed multò magis Ministrorum suorum exiliò irritati sectarii, ardebant dolore et ira; verùm illi graviùs exarserunt, qui Gyöngyösiensibus Jesuitis cultros ostentabant, quibus de corpore pellem detraherent nì relegati Pastores, libertati pristinae, quamprimum restituerentur.” [1674] Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, iii, 160.

⁴⁴ Notably, these incognito Jesuits deliberately tried to pass, not as laymen, but as non-Jesuit priests: “Veste illi aliena tegebant personam... vt à caeteris Sacerdotibus habitu non discreparent” [1652]. Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae*, ii, 165.

⁴⁵ Joannes Baptista Marco (1676–1715) labored in such caverns (“hagieros vocant”). *Elogia Defunctorum*, Ms. III, Kap. A. Tomus V, fol. 332, ELTEK.

⁴⁶ Thus Brother Michael Heczey (1652–1689) was memorialized as a Jesuit who during the time of “contagion” offered himself up as a “victimam spontaneam” by caring for plague sufferers. *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms. I, Ab 139, fol. 273, ELTEK.

challenge of defining the role of the Church for lapsed Catholics or the descendents of Catholics was far different from what Jesuits had faced in Germany a century earlier since in the east the discontinuity with the medieval Church was much more severe and unmistakable. The Society thus had to provide what collective memory could not.

Given the literary skills of many Jesuits and the hierarchical organization of the Society, the emphasis many historians have placed on the bureaucratic, rational, and systematized aspects of pre-Suppression Jesuit institutional culture is understandable. And doubtless Jesuits along the periphery who were filing reports and calculating quantities were constantly aware of this dimension to the Jesuit enterprise. Yet the story of Jesuit encounters in the Habsburg domains is made up of multiple currents in addition to the rationalistic and bureaucratic impetus that is at times most immediately conspicuous in the formal organization of the Society's records. The societies in which the Jesuits of the Austrian Province worked were not static (birth and immigration rates, for instance, were both high during the eighteenth century), and while confessional differences among for example Hungarian speakers persisted until the Suppression and beyond, with each passing year the permanence of Habsburg hegemony seemed ever more unassailable. The Habsburg lands, shorn of the dynasty's Italian possessions, would sustain the shock of the French Revolution, the end of the Holy Roman Empire, and the aggression of Napoleon to emerge as a political unit lasting into the twentieth century. Political division of Hungary or successful rebellion against the dynasty no longer seemed a real possibility, at least for Hungarian, Slovak, or German speakers.⁴⁷

Eighteenth-century Jesuits were working in an environment filled with real problems and difficulties but one essentially stable in most outward ways, and which made easier the characteristic tasks of the later Society of Jesus in Europe, i.e., fundraising and consolidation of its educational institutions.⁴⁸ But what phase lay beyond this era of consolidation? Jesuit records at both the Provincial and Roman

⁴⁷ After 1765, the Hungarian Parliament was no longer even convened by its "king" Maria Theresia. Marzcali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, 353.

⁴⁸ Olwen Hufton has pointed out that the Society perfected the "modern educational fundraiser," complete with an enticing "mission statement." Hufton, "Every Tub On Its Own Bottom."

curial level give little evidence that this question was being articulated adequately, let alone answered—an indication of the deeper flaws within the Society's administrative structure, as well as limitations in the thinking of its leadership. In the case of Habsburg territories regained after 1683, the static position of the Society meant that its relative power and influence vis-à-vis the civil government declined in the eighteenth century as bureaucratic centralization and increased control over the lives of the dynasty's subjects advanced.⁴⁹ With the exception of an unsuccessful mission to Moldavia in the 1740s, the eighteenth century saw no ambitious plans to spread the Gospel eastward beyond the Austrian Province into non-Catholic or pagan lands. Likewise the way south was closed. This was in contrast to the extension in the previous century, not merely of the boundaries of the Province but also the probing of lands far beyond the Province by Jesuits based in Hungary.⁵⁰ This shift in emphasis was not due to a lack of manpower, and arguably the mid-eighteenth-century Austrian province was in a better position to fund such enterprises than it had been a century earlier. Rather the Society, which came into existence without any real awareness of the "heresies" it would confront, but which gained influence and power combating these heresies, had by 1710 reached a plateau of stability in the Habsburg lands. Yet this very stability presented a serious problem to the entire enterprise, since for two centuries the Province had existed in an expansionist mode that had become a *modus operandi*. The programs of school building, missionary work, and the Uniate project had been carried to their plausible limits in the eastern Habsburg domains long before the first Hungarian Jesuit victims in the wave of expulsions that preceded the Suppression were driven out of Portuguese territories in 1759.⁵¹

⁴⁹ A few months after the Suppression, the ultimate expression of the monarchy's control over its subjects, conscription, was being suggested for Hungary by Joseph II. Derek Beales, *Joseph II: Under the Shadow of Maria Theresa*, 227.

⁵⁰ An undated manuscript, probably from before 1650, reports on conditions in "Sofia et luoghi circonvicini..." (Sofia and the surrounding area). "Missio Hungarica 1602–1633, Transilvan. 1580–1650," *Austria* 20, fol. 390r, ARSI.

⁵¹ At least one Jesuit from the Paraguayan reductions returned to Hungary to perform pastoral work before the Suppression. Philippus Ferder (1714),

Significantly, Jesuits in the Habsburg lands, unlike many of their colleagues elsewhere, were in no way in a defensive mode during these last decades; but Jesuit culture along the peripheries showed a lack of new goals, a cautiousness in all aspects of aesthetics, and an inevitable attenuation of the enthusiasm for justifying the Habsburg claims to the Holy Crown that had typified their predecessors. Yet the system did not seem to be falling apart. By mid-century some of the projects undertaken may even have been on the rebound after a period of decay earlier in the century: The *convictus nobilium* in Trnava had in fact been in a state of decay at the turn of the eighteenth century, having become little more than a “barn for hideous owls” according to one observer, but after 1741 had embarked on an era of improvement, thanks to the intervention of the Viennese court.⁵² The Trnava schools of the Society indeed continued to produce notable musicians in the 1750s and later, showing little evidence of senescence, even if the newer “classical” style, popular a short distance away in Vienna and Fertőd, had made few inroads into instruction.⁵³

The eighteenth century, while still a period of great scientific and literary achievement by believing Catholics and Protestants alike, saw a cooling of the characteristic forms of religious expression, both Catholic and Protestant, in many parts of Europe and North America. Even the baroque predilection for supernatural intervention fades from the later records of the Austrian Province, and the commitment to the austere view of the body and of sexuality, so dominant in the previous century, is less pronounced in Jesuit records from the final decades, although attitudes among many Jesuits remained decidedly “baroque” until the very end of the pre-Suppression Society. The gap between these “baroque” Jesuits and the people they ministered to is especially difficult to assess when reading texts composed by these very Jesuits, who also experienced the external pressure of conforming to the Society’s traditional formulae for reporting encounters.

born in Košice in 1714, after his deportation worked in Buda and Prešov before disappearing from sight after 1773. Bartusz-Dobosi, *Jezsuiták és conquistadorok*, 55; Lacza, “Magyar jezsuiták Latin-Amerikában.” epa.oszk.hu/00000/00033/00004/lacza.htm

⁵² Kosáry, *Művelődés a XVIII. századi Magyarországon*, 107.

⁵³ Kačić, “Musiker bei den Tyrnauer Jesuiten,” 188–190.

The suppression of the Jesuits permanently neutralized the core elements of a culture east of the Leitha that had, in the material objects it left behind, perpetuated a striking continuity from the second half of the sixteenth century onward into the Age of Enlightenment, a continuity that to a greater or lesser degree could be observed throughout much of the Jesuit world in 1773.⁵⁴ But how may we characterize this culture as it manifested itself in the Habsburg East? It undoubtedly shared structural and aesthetic traits with contemporaneous Jesuit communities at far removes from Central Europe, but it also possessed distinctive features. Surprisingly, these are not found in the buildings the Society built in the region, in the books printed, or even in the vast number of dramas staged, which as far as can be determined from the meager surviving evidence, differed from those produced elsewhere only in their occasional inclusion of themes from Hungarian royal history and in their scattered employment of local vernaculars. Nor was this engagement with local vernaculars, something in which the Society invested a great deal in Asia and the New World, a key element of this variety of Jesuit culture. As we have seen, Jesuits of the Habsburg East postponed serious systematic engagement with these vernaculars (except for Hungarian) until quite late: Slovak publications were very few until the 1750s, and Romanian language works were non-existent in the decades before the Suppression.⁵⁵ Serious engagement with Roma, Armenian, and Ruthenian culture and religiosity, as far as can be determined from Jesuit records, never occurred, even on the strictly oral level. It is probably going too far to say that the Roma, Romanians, and Ruthenians themselves were denied consideration as a “fully human type” in the way the *Indios* of Peru were viewed by sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuits.⁵⁶ Yet an unmistakable antipathy flavors documentation of the Society’s interactions with these populations. This antipathy is both a result and a cause of the Jesuits’ less than uniformly successful experience with each of these groups.

⁵⁴ Smith, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*.

⁵⁵ In addition to dramas performed in Hungarian, Jesuits published devotional works in this language that enjoyed wide popularity. Among these was *Lelki paradicsom* (printed probably in Trnava in 1720), which appeared anonymously but is generally regarded to have been authored by Ladislaus Baranyi.

⁵⁶ This phrase appears in Martín, “The Peruvian Indian,” 213.

The unifying and distinctive feature of this Jesuit culture, as it manifested itself east of the Leitha, was not internally constructed but originated from outside the Society: the daunting and exhausting task of missionary work among an overwhelmingly Christian and in many cases already nominally Catholic population. This task was never completed, nor could its goals be neatly defined, and most of the other undertakings of the Society, from the fostering of sodalities to the crafting of sermons to the deployment of priests and brothers, reflected the overarching importance of the strengthening and sustaining of this project. Yet this kind of an institutional goal presented a significant challenge to the creators of the Society's baroque self-image in which the light reflected—or generated—by Jesuits penetrated hostile hearts, and permanent conversions were the result.⁵⁷ The re-conversion of lapsed Catholics or the deepening of the dubious commitment of those who already considered themselves Catholic, however important this work was, did not lend itself to the imposing symbolism or metaphorical flights that are hallmarks of the pre-Suppression Society's self-representation.⁵⁸ The offering of the work of the Society *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* could not be achieved in a way that might inspire future plays or paintings, or even provide the themes of stirring homiletics. In the long run the dramatic sacrifices that could serve so well as recruitment and even fund-raising tools eluded the eighteenth-century mission of the Society in the Habsburg East.⁵⁹ Instead of a new world to

⁵⁷ Aloysius Gonzaga was for example portrayed as a boy of seven with rays of divine light extended from his body. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque*, 83.

⁵⁸ Two years after the endowment of the Košice *collegium* a symbolic representation of the Society's worldwide mission appeared on the frontispiece of Daniello Bartoli, *Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignatio....* Each of the four then recognized continents is represented as a woman; Europe is rendered as a modestly garbed, crowned queen wielding a scepter and treading on symbols of temporal and spiritual power. Her sisters are portrayed in various exotic or "savage" ways. Yet none of these figures conveys the essence of the Society's mission among the countryside and villages of Hungary, an environment neither wholly refined like "Europa" nor as exotic as the other personified continents.

⁵⁹ A historian of the North American Jesuit missions observes, "... in the *Relations* a few graphic accounts of persecution could be more effective fund-raisers than uninterrupted tales of triumph." Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois," 2.

be conquered, containing dazzling and exotic flora, fauna, and people, this Jesuit project would be carried out in a turbulent (but not always glamorous) collection of cultures still shaped in part by medieval institutions, and by men that as often as not were products of the same institutions.⁶⁰ Indeed these eastern peripheries were no “New World” at all but part of a very old and often backward-looking one.

Here we must keep in mind the pre-Habsburg and pre-Ottoman histories of these borderlands, which continued to exercise a great influence on both lay and secular culture. Ruthenia for instance in the late Middle Ages had occupied the extreme eastern boundary of the European network of Dominican and Franciscan houses and thus was scarcely touched by the intellectual ferment taking place in the monastic cultures of Western Christianity.⁶¹ The isolation of these religious institutions, and the events that had immediately preceded the arrival of the Jesuits in Hungary, influenced each step by which the Society sought to move towards its own objectives and eventually helped determine how far the Jesuits could advance their enterprise. The earlier role of these older religious orders in the lives of the lay population also influenced the expectations laypersons had for the Jesuits when they arrived. Neither confined to cloister like some Benedictines nor explicitly committed to focusing attention on the poor and outcast, as were (at least some of) the Franciscans, the Jesuits, through their overt cultivation of relationships with elites and their commitment to dramatic interventions, won some converts and allies but inevitably stiffened opposition among Protestants and Unitarians through their tactics. By the middle of the eighteenth century the stalemate was felt on both sides. The Society could not see its way clear to a decisive “triumph” over its confessional rivals, and the members of these confessions continued to resist persuasion, albeit in a more passive fashion. The Society’s culture and its ingrained ways of recording individual experiences worked against the acknowledgement of and openly planned response to this more subtle evidence of what might be considered by some as “failure.”

Yet after nearly two centuries of efforts in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Jesuits could point to several areas where they had accomplished

⁶⁰ Tusor, “A magyar hierarchia és a pápaság.”

⁶¹ Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, 219.

much. The middle tier of the educational program of the *Ratio*, the training of boys in Latin, and to a much lesser degree Greek (with occasional scraps of Hebrew or even Chaldean thrown in) was carried to communities that often had never established any other form of systematic schooling. This was less true in Upper Hungary, and generally the impact of Jesuit schooling grew as it spread south through the Danube Basin. Even where Jesuits had to compete with Calvinist or Lutheran schools their advance in the face of this competition was due to more than simply the harassment, and frequently the forced closure of Protestant schools. Preachers such as Georgius Imrikovits (1690–1770) employed Slovak as they worked in medium-sized towns in Upper Hungary. And Imrikovits was no backwoods type: He had also been the rector of the *Pazmaneum*.⁶²

Although the language of theology permeates the documents generated by the Jesuits of the Austrian Province, the identity of the theology espoused by these men with that which has been attributed to their contemporaries in other Jesuit missions cannot be assumed on the basis of superficial linguistic parallels. Critics of the Society's pre-Suppression missionary enterprises have faulted Jesuits for carrying the notion of "universal natural religion" too far, suggesting that this openness to diversity prepared the way for Enlightenment Deism.⁶³ In fact, the Austrian Province has few, if any, documented cases of this view of religion, or of ideas about how human actions by themselves were neutral, as promoted by the Jesuit Louis Le Comte (1655–1728),⁶⁴ playing any role in shaping its missionary work. East of the Leitha the Society's bitter confessional rivals of the seventeenth century gradually evolved into a permanent set of less threatening but seemingly irreducible challenges in the eighteenth. There is little or no evidence of ideas of "natural religion" penetrating the curriculum of the Trnava university, to say nothing of the Jesuit academies scattered throughout Hungary, and scarcely an instance of a "religion without God" to be found in the rural missions that the Society conducted until 1773. The perpetuation,

⁶² Stoeger, *Scriptores*, 156.

⁶³ Nichols, *Catholic Thought Since the Enlightenment*, 4.

⁶⁴ These ideas were developed in Le Comte's *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* (1696–1699). Kontler, "The Conservative Enlightenment," 116.

albeit in a less vital and attenuated form, of the expressions of baroque piety in dramas and devotional works can be viewed as more evidence of the often remarked-upon “time lag” between the German-speaking and the more easterly regions ruled by the Habsburgs, but the slower spread of ideas from the west is not the only reason for the survival of older modes of expression. The perpetually unfinished business of the conversion of heretics and the reuniting of schismatics, coupled with the absence of a significant dialogue between proponents of the Enlightenment and the Austrian Jesuits in general reinforced the natural conservatism of the mid-eighteenth-century Society, resulting in a repetition of forms that yielded only modest returns.⁶⁵ Marczali has called the Hungarian Jesuits “children of war,” since in many cases they arrived with the Habsburg armies; this is perhaps unfair, but the dominant mode of the Society in the seventeenth century was indeed militant, as the obituaries of Jesuits show, and the ending of open conflict all along the eastern peripheries posed challenges to the emotional culture of the Jesuits which remained unresolved until 1773. As bad as the deprivations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, they did provide a unifying theme for the Province’s chroniclers. This is why the Belgrade mission, abortive though it was, is important for the story of Jesuit efforts in other regions of the Austrian Province. This mission not only produced martyrs but also provided an example of direct engagement with multiple dangerous adversaries in a culturally and linguistically diverse setting; it was an instance, still within living memory in 1773, of the application of the Jesuit “missionary culture” to a difficult, somewhat exotic, and therefore attractive goal.⁶⁶ The very loss of Belgrade put it in a different category from Cluj, another

⁶⁵ Cf. the reporting of a tiny number of “conversi... schismatici” during the 1750s in *Historia Residentiae Sathmariensis Soc. Jesu incepta 1671*, Ms. I, Ab 105, fol. 130, ELTEK.

⁶⁶ Dominique Deslandres, using Foucault’s concept of *episteme*, identifies five features of this missionary culture, which can be applied to the Belgrade mission and other outliers of the Austrian Province as readily as to the North American missions. These are 1) The idea of the mission itself; 2) The attitude towards the people to be “missionized”; 3) The way the missionary saw himself and his action; 4) The methods used to attain the missionary’s goals; 5) The reactions expected from the people. Deslandres, “*Exemplo aequae ut verbo*,” 260–267.

culturally diverse town also ravaged by plague, but firmly in the control of the Society. The inaccessibility yet nearness of Belgrade also held out the possibility, however remote, of future conquests. For as the Baroque Society constructed its history, simultaneously it clung to a belief in the greatness of its future. Both past and future had to be kept in view to sustain the Society's work in the present.

The Society's efforts to exercise social control, while arguably not as successful as its educational program, remained closely linked to its missionary ideals and set forth a model of conduct and motivation that engaged many laypersons to change their behavior. At least from the point of view of the Jesuits reporting on them, these efforts promoted a culture of penance and striving towards self-discipline intended to fill the gap left by the deprivations of 150 years of Ottoman rule and the errors of Protestantism. And Jesuit knowledge of medicine and drugs reached beyond pharmacies in the larger towns and into many corners of life, including military camps.⁶⁷ In the mountain towns of Upper Hungary, Jesuit architecture left less of a lasting imprint than in Trnava or Győr, but the Society did contribute to the spread of a Danubian baroque aesthetic with the erection of smaller and less ornate churches and calvaries in towns such as Rožňava. The most lasting affect of the Jesuit promotion of the baroque occurred in the book culture of the region, since not only the contents but the physical appearance of the products of the Society's presses reflected this aesthetic. Even after the Suppression the Košice Jesuit press must have continued to be productive, as it was purchased in its entirety in 1775 by the printer Landerer.⁶⁸

No aspect of the Jesuit presence in Hungary is more indicative of the social and emotional climate of the Catholic baroque at its apex than the sodalities and congregations that the Society established. An examination of the activities of these organizations, when placed alongside of the emerging rationalist culture that was already being promoted in the second decade of Maria Theresia's rule, suggests the slow but steady shift, not only in aesthetic taste, but in the priorities of the elites upon whom the Society depended. In Sárospatak the *Congregatio*

⁶⁷ Father Gasdagh (see footnote 42), among his many activities, provided the *milites castrenses* with "pharmacis."

⁶⁸ Kókay, *A könyvkereskedelem Magyarországon*, 68.

Agoniae made use of lavish public displays on saints' days and other religious holidays to define Catholic identity in a community that remained strongly, even angrily Calvinist. The exhibition of those aspects of Catholic devotion that most conspicuously differed from the devotional practices of Calvinists served several purposes: It was a way of publicly expressing the new power relations in the town, but was also a means of communicating ideas regarding physicality and religious experience that were essential parts of the worldview encountered through the *Spiritual Exercises*.⁶⁹ The emphasis placed on suffering, and on praying for the dead (a practice rejected by Calvin), however objectionable it might be to a Reformed community, had some resonance in a world ravaged by war and plague. By contrast, even a modicum of political stability and prosperity can begin to draw one's thoughts in other directions. The Baroque Society had an inherent capacity to make use of the sensuously beautiful and rationally appealing in its mission efforts, but its investment in the unique elements of the highly emotionalized and in many respects, personalized experience of the transcendent remained great even as the appetite of its targeted population (in this instance, the Princely family of Rákóczi and a smattering of other prominent families) for this experience appeared to wane. Its extreme forms of expression and its insistence on ornate language were intended to heighten the emotional tension and to call attention to hierarchies and distances between individuals. The Society could thereby generate enough excitement among its members to stir them to acts of bravery and to the endurance of suffering.⁷⁰ And although it is far harder to assess from Jesuit sources, this excitement spread on occasion to members of lay organizations as well.

⁶⁹ Gyulai, "A jezsuiták sárospataki Agonia-kongregációja."

⁷⁰ Cases such as Stephanus Suberle "natione Dalmata," who aspired to a mission in Tartary or Moldavia but instead worked himself to death in Turkish occupied Hungary in 1646, may be regarded as true. *Elogia Defunctorum XII*, Ms. I, Ab 148, fol. 16, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi II*, 762; Pörtner, *Counter-Reformation*, 203. Molnár identifies Suberle as an Italian. Molnár, *Saint-siège*, 299. A "Stjepan Huberle" (presumably a misreading of handwritten records) is reported to have worked in Belgrade in 1645. Korade, Aleksić, and Matoš, "Jesuits and Croatian Culture," 103; Vanino, "Isusovci u Beogradu," 19.

The apparent change in the tastes, and on a deeper level, in the psychological needs of a wide swathe of the population is indicated by the passivity that greeted the drastic reduction of pilgrimages and other public forms of devotion instituted by Vienna during the 1770s and 80s—this in contrast to the anger generated by Joseph II's Germanization program and his refusal to be crowned with the Holy Crown. Perhaps the change in climate came from the change in Jesuit tactics as well. The unmourned passing of pilgrimages and processions took place in a Hungary that had not seen the forcible conversion of recalcitrant Protestants for more than a century.⁷¹ The decline in apparent popularity of these activities was due to more than a lack of coercion. As the flames of the late Counter-Reformation faded, so did the passions that animated the most strident Lutherans and Calvinists, or at least the decades of systematic discrimination seemed to wear them down. We must also consider that beneath the repeated rhetoric of eighteenth century Jesuit records was a wilting of enthusiasm for extravagant baroque piety among at least some in the Society. Conflicts between traditionalist Jesuits and those more interested in curricular reform provide some of the background to this shift,⁷² although it cannot be assumed that every curricular innovator or exact scientist was on the opposite side of those still supporting older forms of piety—Maximillianus Hell, for example, was in both camps. Another possible factor in this shift was the decline in numbers of what might be called the “low tracked” Jesuits, that is, the missionary without great literary or even preaching skills who nonetheless diligently carried out the necessary tasks of burial, baptisms, and weddings.⁷³

⁷¹ Besides the intimidation tactics employed in Royal Hungary, Jesuits seeking conversions on Esterházy properties around Kismarton in 1638 had done so with the visible support of soldiers. Péter, “Cselekedetek és eszmék.”

⁷² Nicolas Muszka, the last Austrian Provincial and a professor in Trnava, faced opposition to his efforts to reform the academic program, almost two decades after the promulgation of the *Typus*. Szilas, “Muszka Miklós,” in O'Neill and Dominguez (eds.), *Diccionario*, iii, 2789.

⁷³ Thus Paulus Novack (1612–1644) was remembered for his baptism of “parvulos” (the little ones) and worked in such settings as Kláštor pod Znievom, where he died. *Elogia Defunctorum III*, Ms. I, Ab. 139, undated leaf inserted between pages 351 and 352, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 692.

If Jesuit culture in the Habsburg East thrived on adversity, this adversity, as remembered and cherished within the early Society, took its most useful form in the clear-cut if infrequent moments when a Jesuit was given the choice between renouncing his identity as a Jesuit or death.⁷⁴ But the acceptance of a difficult, if not always dangerous life was as central to the later Habsburg Jesuit mission as had been the willingness to choose death at other times. While the Society historically had found places for a diverse range of talents, the opportunities for service along the eastern rim of the Austrian Province were most promising for the man of strong constitution or at least (as in the case of Timon) with a capacity to endure physical misery while remaining productive. The Jesuits working along the ragged periphery of “Europe” were neither in great isolation from their native culture like Roberto de Nobili or the Jesuit missions to the Great Mogul, nor in charge of communities of the native-born whose entire social organization expressed the ideals of the Society, like the Jesuits of Paraguay. But the small communities of Jesuits scattered among the mountains and market towns of this remote yet seldom exotic frontier still faced interior struggles similar to those undertaken by their confreres elsewhere.

At the same time the lack of a larger adversary or a positive, clear-cut, and attainable goal kept the risk of navel gazing very real. And despite the modest success of the Uniate Church in Transylvania, the much smaller number of Eastern Orthodox in Upper Hungary prevented a similarly ambitious undertaking from being launched there. In the eighteenth century, the accomplishments of scholars and scientists of the Austrian Province accumulated, but did not measure up to the fruit of other intellectual currents in France or England. The question remained: What could a Society, that its Founder said must be always “with one foot raised” ready for movement and action, do as it worked among isolated and very needy populations when such action did not seem possible any more? Understandably preoccupied with the tasks of maintaining the institutions they had built up over 150 years, few Jesuits appear to have raised this question.

⁷⁴ One such choice is claimed for Georgius Kerzinger (1588–1650) a *coadjutor temporalis* who while “in silvis et avijs errans” would rather have died in his religious habit than lived securely without it. *Elogia Defunctorum IX*, Ms. I, Ab 145, fols. 1; 3, ELTEK; Lukács, *Catalogi*, II, 639.

One searches in vain for a grand, collectively undertaken project of the eighteenth century Habsburg Jesuits that echoes the ambition of “Unus non sufficit orbis” a century earlier. The unquestionably impressive number, for example, of school dramas staged throughout the Austrian Province belies the actual role of these plays in the lives of Jesuit communities. James Van Horn Melton perceptively describes these dramas as “quintessentially theatrical and nonliterary.”⁷⁵ They were performances that did not aspire to anything beyond the exhibition of individual skill and curricular stability, were highly derivative in their plot construction, conventional, even orthodox in their use of language,⁷⁶ and ultimately became anachronistic at the very moment when the Society needed new allies to survive the mounting opposition it faced, if not in small towns and the countryside, then at the courts of the great Catholic powers. Yet they were often visually striking, performed with a high degree of technical skill, and integrated into the universal literate culture of the Society. As such these plays are an apt metaphor for the work of the Society itself in its last decades along the periphery. These Jesuit creations remained tied to notions of virtue that were at the heart of the enterprise, interconnected and transnational in form and moral vision, while retaining their frequent references to Hungarian history. Yet despite elements of individual creativity, they were unable to evolve or adapt as culture changed. Meanwhile the Society was approaching the moment of its suppression, an event whose shadows were cast far in advance, but which seems to have aroused very little awareness of its immanence among the Jesuits of northern and eastern Hungary.⁷⁷ Here the gap between the experience of Jesuits in the urban centers of Vienna and perhaps Buda as well must be contrasted with the ways that communities in more remote settings carried on through the period of crisis. Not only had the many decades of

⁷⁵ Melton, “From Image to Word,” 102.

⁷⁶ Oldani and Yanitelli, “Jesuit Theater in Italy.”

⁷⁷ However, at dinner on 3 November 1767 in the Jesuit residence in Banská Bystrica “lecta est historia Paraguaricarum Missionum” (the history of the Paraguayan missions was read aloud), and in another hand is noted “Authore Muratorio.” *Diarium Residentiae Soc. Jesu Neosolij*, unnumbered folio, RFUBB. It is unlikely that this reading of Jesuit history was undertaken merely at random less than four months after the expulsion of the Society from the Spanish colonies.

work marked by at least moderate success bred a resistance to change, but the years of stability since 1711 had created an illusion of permanence, a post-Tridentine field of engagement with no end in sight.

Yet if the worst things that can be said about the later labors of the Jesuits of Habsburg Hungary are that they were unable to find an adversary worthy of their earliest and most high-flown ambitions, and that their energies were often consumed with the difficulties of daily life, then we should also consider these words from the *Annuae* of the Alba Iulia residence, written less than three years before the Suppression: “Ne caeteros spirituales fructus commemorem, quos vel sigillum vel modestia patrum arcanos esse voluit.” (I should not comment on other spiritual fruits, which the seal [of silence] or the modesty of the fathers has endeavored to keep hidden).⁷⁸ Scaled back expectations might compel Jesuits to regard as an important task the relations they had with laypersons under the seal of confession, but in the performance of such apostolic work the Society was in fact doing one of the things it did best, and one that actually addressed the desires of the devout Catholics who entered Jesuit churches. Had baroque exuberance finally been succeeded by a “modestia” that accepted difficult and adversity without recourse to public display?

The final years of the Jesuit communities of the Habsburg East should not be understood as anything so simplistic as a failure, and the terms on which they were judged by their members are so far removed from our own notions of success that it is only with effort that we can imagine the internal calculus employed by the Jesuits themselves to assess their mission. Such a calculus included not only individual *indifferentia* but also the cumulative effects of life spent neither in the extended family of the early modern period nor in a community where friendship and affection might be demonstrated in familiar ways, nor where loyalties were understood in the way they were in the village, conscript regiment, or farmstead. Thus while the connections between Jesuits and the wider communities with which they interacted remain important, the ways in which the lives of these men differed from laymen were profound and inescapable.

⁷⁸ *Annuae Residentiae Soc'is Jesu Albensis*, Szentiványi 323, fol. 80v [1770], BB.

Along with the Jesuits recorded in anthologies of science, literature, and travel existed priests and brothers of more limited—or at least differing—vision who made up the body of the Society and whose experience collectively had a decisive impact on the ultimate contribution of the Jesuit enterprise to the history of these regions. The methods of record-keeping employed by the Society veil the experiences of many of these men from our sight, yet their presence is still perceptible in the collective literary and material products of the Austrian Province that have survived. And although this diffuse and at times ambiguous record never overshadows the stories of the most distinguished Jesuits of that time, its significance is very great. This significance lies both in the sheer scope and number of human contacts affected by these mostly forgotten Jesuits, but also in the way that their lives provided counterpoint to and sometimes tension with the higher aspirations of the Jesuit literary elite whose names still appear in history books.

During over two centuries of apostolic work along an often remote borderland, Jesuits encountered many kinds of adversity, yet the unceasing demands of some of the hardest and least documented work of priests and brothers forms a backdrop to the Society's most ambitious endeavors. The interplay between these different aspects of Jesuit life, often subsumed within the career of one man, are the essence of the Jesuit undertaking and of its contribution to the history of East Central Europe.

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- ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
 Austria 81
 Austria 20
 Austria 21
 Austria 139 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1644
 Austria 141 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1653, 1654
 Austria 142 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1650, 1658,
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 Austria 143 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1673
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 Austria 146 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1686
 Austria 147–148 *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*, 1687, 1688
 Historia Soc. 137
- ASCPF Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide [=Archive of
 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome
 Ungheria e Transilvania 2 (1676–1695)
 Ungheria e Transilvania 3 (1696–1707)
- BB Biblioteca Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia, Romania
 Szentiványi 323 *Annuae Residentiae Soc'tis Jesu Carolina [Alben-
 sis, Albiensis, Carolensis]*
 Szentiványi 594 R XI 83 *Nomina eorum, qui residentia agriensi
 Societatis Jesu coadjutorum temporalium...*
 Szentiványi 691 XI 68 *Diarium Missionis Societatis Jesu Residen-
 tiae Maros-Vasarheliensis*

- BRBC Burns Room, Boston College Library
114 MS2007-16 Luis de Valdevia, *Libro de algunos varones ilustres que ha havido en la Compañia de Jesus cuyas santas vidas y gloriosas muertes padecidas por la fee...*
- BUW Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu [=Library of the University of Wrocław]
1948/1046, AKC *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Silesiae 1760*
- ELTEK Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Egyetemi Könyvtár [=Eötvös Loránd University Library, Budapest]
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Tomus XLIX *Pannonia Docta*
- JLB Jezsuita Levéltár, Budapest [=Jesuit Archive, Budapest]
Historia Collegii Homonna-Vnghvariensis
- MOL Magyar Országos Levéltár [=Hungarian National Archives, Budapest]
E152 214d *Res. Sarospatakiensis 2*
P. 478 *Diarium Collegii Leutschoviensis*, II
- OSzK Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [=National Széchényi Library, Budapest]
FMI/1608 2039 *Historia S. J. Claudiopoli*
- ÖNB Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [=Austrian National Library, Vienna]
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118. E41 *Jesuitica ad historiam Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae spectantia*
118. F2 Ioannes Nádas, *Tristes annuae desertorum*
- RFUBB Rímskokatolický farský úrad, Banská Bystrica [=Banská Bystrica (Slovakia) Parish Office]
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Register of Geographical Names

Historical place names in Central and Eastern Europe exist in several vernaculars; in this work I have used the names that are current in the majority language of the country in which the locality is currently situated. This register of placenames that appear in this volume is intended to help resolve this diversity of usage, and to identify the places in different maps. In some cases these place names are archaic. The Ukrainian and Serbian /Croatian placenames are included in cases where the difference in form from some other versions of the place names might create confusion. Serbian place names appear in the Roman alphabet (Latinica).

Readers may also consult J. G. T. Graesse, et. al., *Orbis Latinus* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1971) www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/Graesse/contents.html for many of the Latin place names that appear in this work.

Hungarian	Slovak	German	Romanian	Serbian/ Croatian	Ukrainian	Eng /Am
Arva	Orava	Arwa				
Bács		Batsch		Bač		
Bártfa	Bartdejov		Bartfeld			
Bécs	Viedeň	Wien	Viena	Beč	Відень	
Belgrád				Beogradu		Belgrade
Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica	Neusohl			Банська Бистриця	
Brassó	Braşov	Kronstadt	Braşov	Braşov		
Buda	Budin	Ofen	Buda	Budim	Буда	
Csanád	Čanad	Tschanad	Cenad	Čanad		
Csöbörösök			Cioburciu			
Eger	Jäger	Erlau		Eger, Jeger		
Eperjes	Prešov	Preschau			Пряшів, Пренов	
Erdély	Sedmohradsko	Siebenbürgen	Ardeal	Transilvania		
Érsekújvár	Nové Zámky	Neuhäus(e)l		Nove Zamki		
Eszég		Esseg, Essegg		Osijek		
Esztergom	Ostrihom	Gran	Strigoniu	Estergom		
Grác	Grдец	Graz		Grats, Gradats		
Győr	Ráb	Raab		Đer	Дьйор, Дьор, Дер	
Gyulafehérvár		Karlsburg, Weissenburg	Alba Iulia			
Jászvásár	Jassy	Jassy	Ia ^{ci}		Ясси, Яси, Яшь	

Hungarian	Slovak	German	Romanian	Serbian/ Croatian	Ukrainian	Eng /Am
Karánsebes		Karánsebesch	Caransebeş	Karánsebeš		
Kassa	Košice	Kaschau	Saşovia, Saşau, Coaşa	Кошице, Кошиці		
Krásňovár			Caraşova	Karáševo		
Kolozsvár	Kluž	Klausenburg	Cluj			
Komárom	Komárno	Komorn	Komarno, Komoran	Kremnica		
Lajta, Lajtha, Sár(-viz)	Litava	Leitha				
Liptó Szentmiklós	Liptovský Mikuláš	Sankt Nikolaus in der Liptau, (Deutsch-Liptau), Liptau-Sankt- Nikolaus				
Lőcse	Levoča	Leutschau				
Homonna	Humenné	Homanau			Хумене	
Kalocsa	Kaloča	Kollotschau		Kalača		
Kárpátalja	Podkarpatská Rus	Ruthenien	Ruteniu, Transcarpatia	Zakarpatje	Закарпаття, Закарпатська, Русь, Рутенія, Закарпатська Україна	
Kőszeg	Kysak, Kysek	Güns		Keseg, Kiseg		
Máramaros	Marmaroş		Maramureş	Maramureş		
Máriapócs			Pociu	Maripoč		

Hungarian	Slovak	German	Romanian	Serbian/ Croatian	Ukrainian	Eng /Am
Marosvásárhely		Neumarkt am Mieresch	Târgu Mureş	Targu Mureş		
Miskolc	Miskovec	Miskoltz	Mişcolţ	Miskolts, Miskolats		
Munkács	Mukačevo	Munkatsch, Mukatschewe	Muncaeg	Mukačevo	Мукачеве, Мукачів	
Nagyszeben		Hermannstadt	Sibiu			
Nagyszombat	Tnava	Tyrnau				
Nagyvarád	Veľký Varadín	Großwardcin	Oradea	Veiliki Varadin	Орадя	
Nagybánya		Neustadt	Baia Mare			
Nándorfehérvár	Belehrad	Belgrad	Belgrad	Beograd	Белград	
Neszmély		Nessmühl				
Óhegy	Staré Hory	Alteberg				
Oltenia		Kleine Wallachei, Oltenien				
Pozsony	Bratislava	Preßburg	Pojon			
Pest	Pest'	Pest	Pesta	Pešta	Пешт	
Pécs	Pär'kostolie	Fünfkirchen	Beci	Pečuj (Serbian), Pečuh (Croatian)	Осіек	
Rozsnyó	Rožnava	Rosenau				
Sárospatak	Šarišský Potok, Blatný Potok					
Selmecbánya	Banská Štiavnica	Schemnitz				

Hungarian	Slovak	German	Romanian	Serbian/ Croatian	Ukrainian	Eng /Am
Sopron	Šopron	Ödenburg		Šopron	Шопрон	
Szabadka		Theresienpol		Subotica		
Szátmár, Szátmárnémeti			Satu Mare			
Székelyhid		Zickelhid	Săcueni			
Szepes	Spiš	Zips				
Szkaloca	Skalica	Skalitz				
Sztropkó	Stropkov	Stropko		Stropkov	Стропков, Свропків	
Temesvár		Temeswar	Timoșoara	Temišvar		
Trencsén	Trenčín					
Turóc	Turiec					
Újhely	Slovenské Nové Mesto					
Újhely, Újváros, Újvároska	Leopoldov	Neustadt, Leopoldstadt				
Ungvár	Uzhhorod	Ungwar	Ujhorod		Ужгород	
Vágsellye	Šafa, Šafa nad Váhom	Schelle		Шаля		
Varasd		Warasdin		Varaždin	Вараждин	
Varona						
Zenta	Zenta	Zenta	Zenta	Senta		
Zníováralja	Kláštór pod Znievom	Kloster(- Kühhorn)				

OTHER EQUIVALENTS

Eger (Hungarian)	Eğri (Turkish)	
Érsekújvár (Hungarian)	Uyvar (Turkish)	
Győr (Hungarian)	Yanikkale (Turkish)	
Gyulaféhevár (Hungarian)	Erdel Belgradı (Turkish)	Keist (Transylvanian Saxon)
Olomouc (Czech)	Olmütz (German)	Alamóc (Hungarian)
Székelyhíd (Hungarian)	Sikelhid (Turkish)	
Szepes (Hungarian)	Spisz (Polish)	
Wrocław (Polish)	Breslau (German)	Boroszló (Hungarian)

Addresses the experience of Jesuit missionaries, teachers and writers along the peripheries of the Habsburg lands, which stretched to Moldavia, Ukraine, Serbia and Wallachia, and which was continually riven with ethnic tensions. The time scale of the study is from the “high tide” of the Society (often labeled “the first multinational corporation”) in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, until its suppression in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV.

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Central European University Press
Budapest–New York

Sales and information: ceupress@ceu.hu

Website: <http://www.ceupress.com>

ISBN 978-615-5053-47-4



9 786155 053474

